AN ASSEMBLAGE OF COINS,

Fabricated by Authority of the

ARCHBISHOPS of CANTERBURY.

All the Metropolitical Coins, whether already publiſhed, or latent in private Cabinets, ſo far at leaſt as the Author's Correſpondence extends, are here engraved in one View, and illuſtrated with a proper Commentary.

An ESSAY is annexed, in which ſome Account is given of the Origine, the variable Fate and Fortune, and the final Determination of theſe inferior and ſubordinate Mints; and ſomething concerning the Nature and particular Circumſtances of them, with other incidental Matters relative to the Subject, is occaſionally noticed; with Intention of throwing ſome Light on a Branch of the Science of Medals both curious and copious, though but imperfectly conſidered by our Engliſh Medaliſts.

To the Whole are ſubjoined,

TWO DISSERTATIONS on ſimilar Subjects,

I. On a fine Coin of ÆLFRED THE GREAT, with his Head.

II. On the famous UNIC of the late Mr. Thoreſby, ſuppoſed to be a Coin of ST. EDWIN, but ſhewn to be a Penny of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR; wherein a Plan is laid down for re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Saxon Coins.

By SAMUEL PEGGE, M.A.

Res ardua *vetuſtis novitatem*, dare, novis auctoritatem, *obſoletis nitorem*, *obſcuris lucem*, *faſtiditis gratiam*, *dubiis fidem*, omnibus vero *naturam*, et naturæ ſuæ omnia.

PLINIUS ad TIT. VESPAS.

LONDON:
Printed for T. SNELLING, No. 163, in Fleet-ſtreet.

M.DCC.LXXII.

Peggo
Coins

42 BS div

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

TO

The most Reverend Father in GOD

FREDERICK,

By Divine Providence Lord Archbishop

OF

Canterbury.

These genuine Nummulary Remains of some of his Pious
and Learned Predecessors, are humbly Inscribed
As a Public Testimony of Duty & Gratitude
By his Grace's most devoted,
and most obliged Son and Servant,

Samuel Pegge.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the Author has been obliged to deſcend to certain *minutiæ* in the following performance; if he has been compell'd to mention ſome things which may already be generally known; there are particulars which the benevolence of the Reader, he truſts, will aſcribe in a great meaſure to the nature of the ſubject, which could not be properly treated without a good degree of nicety, nor without adverting ſometimes to common and trite obſervations.

The Author is conſcious, too, of having here and there incurr'd ſome repetitions, owing chiefly to his introducing ſome letters formerly addreſſed to his friends, which it was thought proper, as they coincided naturally with his ſubject, to communicate to the Public, and to give them in their original ſhape, ſince he could not alter or mutilate them with any tolerable decency or propriety. This blemiſh, therefore, ſeems unavoidable in ſuch a ſtate of things.

The Authors and Cabinets from whom the Coins are reſpectively taken, are all noted in the Commentary; and the vouchers for the various aſſertions, advanced both in the Commentary and the ſubſequent Eſſay, are all carefully produced at the bottom of the pages; one good effect of which will be, that ſuch gentlemen as are deſirous of conſulting and examining the authorities, which the Author,

who preſcribes to nobody, very much intreats they would, may do it with the utmoſt convenience and facility.

It muſt be confeſs'd, at laſt, that works of this ſavour are not adapted to the taſte of every one; they can only ſuit the palates of antiquaries, connoiſſeurs, and gentlemen collectors of medals; for them they are indeed more principally deſign'd; and yet it is hoped they may be not only intelligible, but alſo may afford a rational amuſement, unto others, who have no intention either of becoming adepts in the ſcience of medals, or of purchaſing and forming a cabinet. And in behalf of himſelf, as well as others engaged in the like ſtudies, the Author begs leave to obſerve, that it muſt be every way as allowable for an Engliſhman to endeavour at the illuſtration of a ſingle and not the leaſt curious branch of the ſcience relative to his own country, as for Father Harduin or Monſ. Le Blanc, Father Banduri or Monſ. Vaillant, with an hundred authors more, to beſtow ſo much time and pains in explaining the leſs intereſting but more difficult coins of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Franks. And why, it may be aſked, ſhould it not yield as much pleaſure to contemplate the venerable buſts and aſpects of our ſage Metropolitans, doubtleſs the leading and moſt conſiderable men of their times, though but rudely repreſented, as the unimportant heads of many worthleſs, inſignificant, and perhaps abandoned tyrants of foreign nations?

In reſpect of the Diſſertations; he gladly ſnatches the opportunity, in the firſt, of doing an act of juſtice to one of the moſt venerable and moſt meritorious of our Engliſh monarchs, and of aſcertaining, beyond all future cavil, as he hopes and preſumes, the moſt authentic buſt of the great

king

king Ælfred. In the other, which he eſteems a ſacrifice to truth, he has done violence to himſelf, in depretiating a κειμήλιον belonging to ſo reſpectable a perſon, as the late Mr. Thoreſby, for whoſe memory he retains the ſincereſt regard; and perhaps in offending ſome gentleman, he knows not whom, who may be the preſent poſſeſſor of it. *Sed magna eſt veritas & prævalebit.* However, he thought them *both* neceſſary, on account of the references made to them in the body of the Eſſay, and the aſſertions there grounded upon them.

All he would ſay further is, that contracted as the ſubject is, he has endeavoured to render the work as extenſively uſeful as poſſible; and is not deſtitute of hopes, that the various hints and intimations therein given may contribute to the elucidation of the Saxon, and even Poſt-Normannic ſeries of our medals; as likewiſe that the numerous explanations of our coins here attempted, may prove an acceptable preſent to thoſe gentlemen, the current of whoſe affections run ſtrong towards this ſpecies of innocent literary amuſement.

ADDENDA.

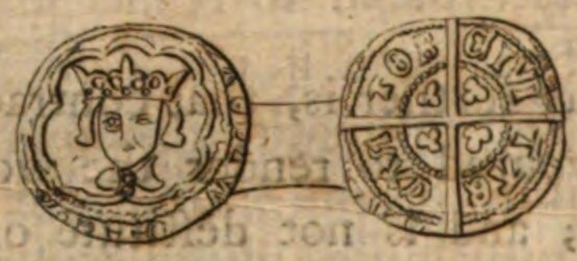
P. 113. THIS character P . . . came not into uſe upon the coins till the age of Ethelred II.] This obſervation, grounded upon a view of the coins hitherto publiſhed, is in part invalidated by a late diſcovery; for Mr. White informs me, that in his cabinet he has coins of Edward the Martyr, Eadwig, and Eadgar, with ▽ either upon their antic or poſtic.

Second addition to p. 33.] Add there,

THOMAS BOURCHIER,

Biſhop of Ely, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury A. 1454, in the reign of Hen. VI. and died A. 1486, in that of Henry VII. This prelate was of a noble family, being brother of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Eſſex; he was dignified moreover with the purple, and his incumbency at Canterbury was remarkable for the length of it, not leſs than thirty-two years.

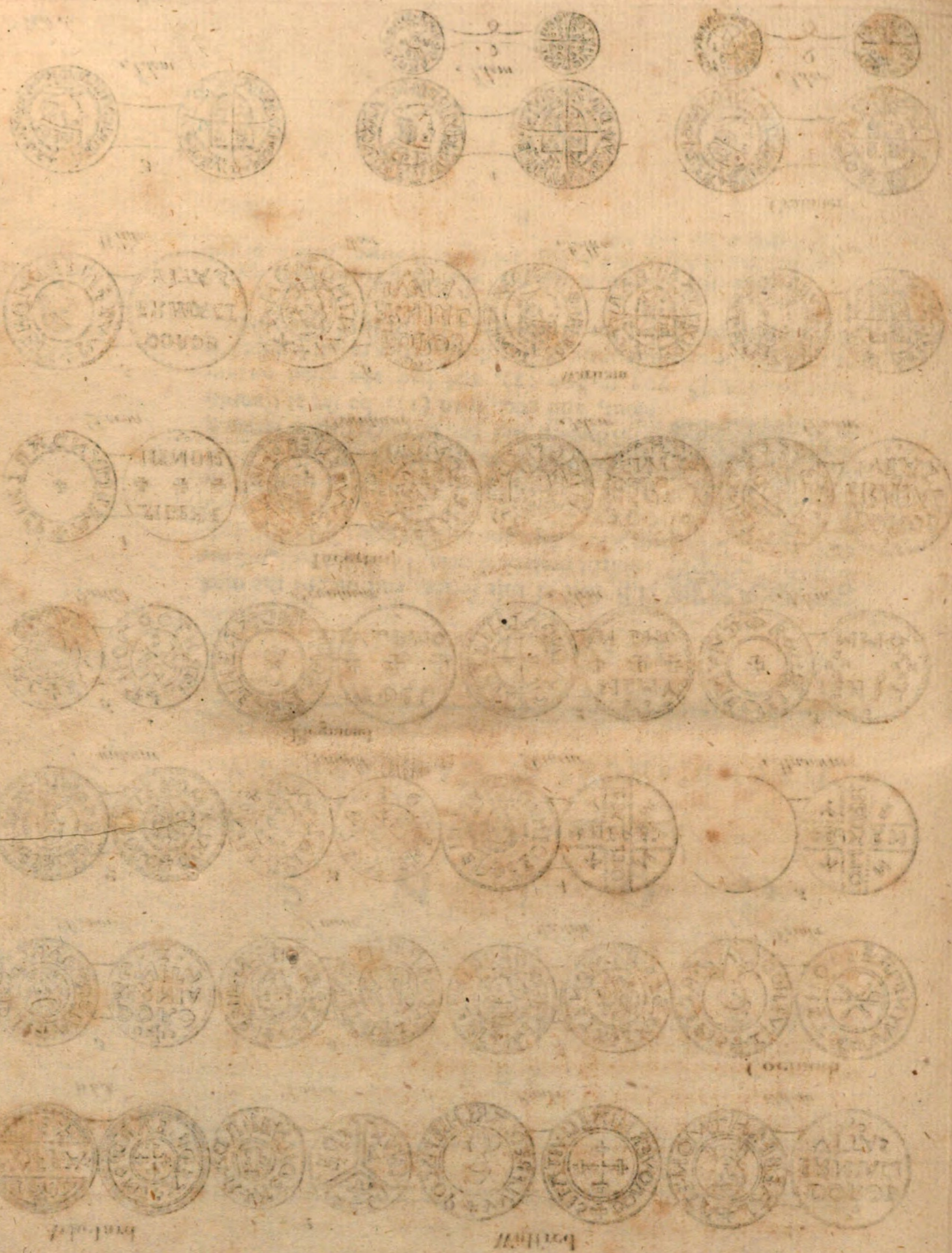
Edward Solly, Eſq; of the Council at the Society of Antiquaries, London, is poſſeſſed of an half groat minted at Canterbury, with a capital B on the King's breaſt, in



the ſame manner as Sherwood, biſhop of Durham, placed his S, and Booth, archbiſhop of York, placed his B. The coin unqueſtionably belongs to cardinal Bourchier; and, in the opinion of Mr. White, (to whoſe friendſhip I am indebted for the notification and deſcription of this valuable piece) was minted in the reign of Richard III. the legend being RICABDIWS DEI GRA. and in the inner circle of the reverſe, CIVITAS CANTOB, the *R*'s being made like *B*'s, and the *N* in Cantor reverſed, blunders which the confuſion and troubles of K. Richard's reign will account for.

ERRATA.

P. 3, 4. Ð is often put for D; as p. 5, 6. biſ. 13. 17. P. 9. l. 18. *r.* where as. P. 11. l. 7. *r.* Willfreth. P. 13. l. 8. *r.* Cialnoth. P. 20. l. penult. *r.* Sigberet; and again, p. 21. P. 22. l. 4. *r.* Lection. P. 24. l. 24. *r.* GENNVLFVS. P. 25. l. 26. *r.* at either. P. 27. l. 8. *r.* OЯO. P. 30. l. 27. dele . and put , P. 32. l. 10. *r.* Pellets. P. 36. l. 6. *r.* omitted it. l. 24. *r.* et Patriarcha. P. 41. l. 10. *r.* ſpatioſam. l. 11. *r.* mandant. l. 27. *r.* vaiſſeaux. coutient. eſtoit. l. 28. *r.* matelots. P. 42. l. 10. *r.* Legatis. l. 15. *r.* permutatione. P. 43. l. 30. *r.* meaƿre. P. 44. l 32. *r.* æris. P. 47. in Not. for 38. *r.* 2. P. 50. l. 15. *r.* diſapprov'd. P. 52. in Not. *r.* Sceaftſbury. P. 53. l. 3. *r.* and perhaps. In Notes, (2) relates to (3) in the text, and (3) to (2). l. antepenult. *r.* we call. P. 52. l. 22. dele , put . P. 60. l. 2. *r.* needs. l. 19. per- *r.* perfectly. P. 61. l. 1. loſt, *r.* left. P. 62. l. 14. *r.* ƿceat. P. 63. l. antepenult. *r.* LĪLOLIENSIS. l. ult. *r.* gentile. P. 66. l. 24. *r.* permeat. P. 67. l. 27. *r.* it away. P. 70. l. 21. *r.* Cuthredi. l. 23. *r.* occident. P. 71. l. ult. *r.* monetarii. P. 74. l. 17. *r.* turn. P. 75. l. 11. BONLYI, *r.* BONLVT. l. 13. BDI, *r.* BOI. l. 20. W. O. *r.* O. W. P. 83. l. 4. *r.* monetarios. P. 84. l. 2. *r.* et liberius. l. 28. *r.* conceſſiſſe. In Not. for 84. *r.* 79. N. B. The references to the pages preceding are but too often wrong. P. 85. l. 1. in Not. *r.* Νομολεξικὸν; and again, p. 88. in Not. P. 88. l. 24. that, *r.* that: In Not. (7) and (8) are counterchanged. P. 89. l. 3. in Not. *r.* Hen. I. citat. P. 89. l. ult. in Not. 558. *r.* 588. P. 98. in Not. (2) and (3) are counterchanged. P. 103. l. 12. *r.* imagined. P. 110. l. 13. *r.* Saxons. P. 111. l. 33. *r.* exaratur. P. 118. l. 27. Guthman *r.* Guthrum.



Athelard

White

2

Duane

Wulfred

Pembr.

2

Idem

Coelnoth

3

Devon

4

Duane

5

Weston

Pembr

2

Fountaine

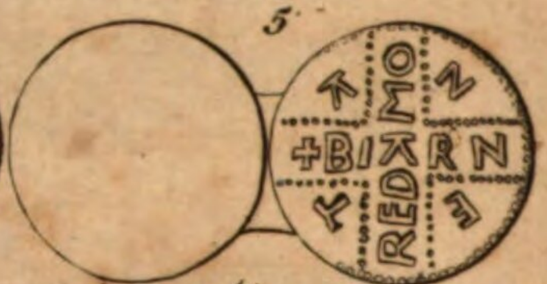
3

Knight

4

Duane

5



Museum

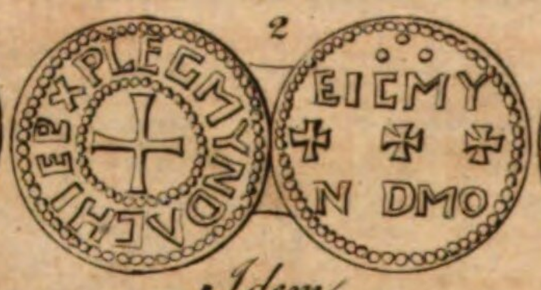
Plegmund

6

Bartlet

Fountaine

2



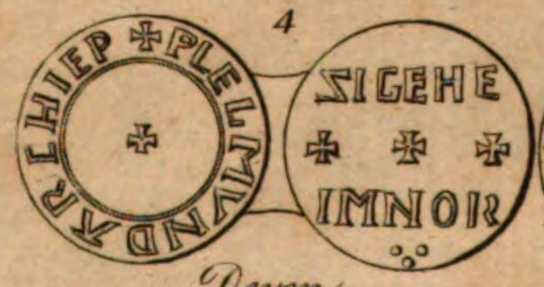
Idem

3

Idem

Incertum

4



Devon

Fountaine

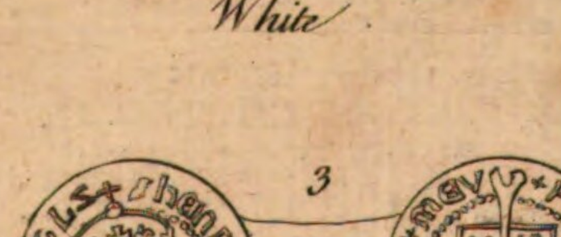
2

Idem

4

Duane

5

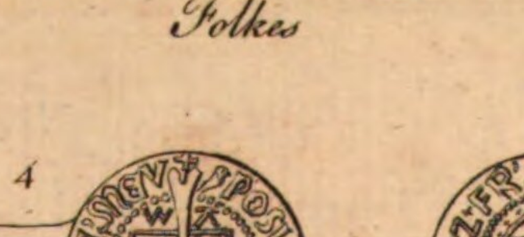


White

6

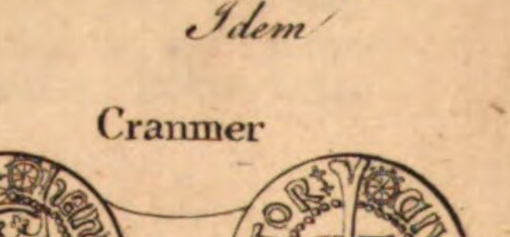
West

Warham



Folkes

2



Idem

3

Idem

4

Idem

Cranmer

Idem

C. Hall Sc.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

AN

ASSEMBLAGE

OF

COINS,

Fabricated by Authority of the

ARCHBISHOPS of CANTERBURY.

ATHELARD.

THE firſt of this ſeries, and indeed the moſt ancient prelatical coin it has yet fortun'd me to ſee, is a penny of Mr. John White's, hat-merchant, in Newgate-ſtreet, London, whoſe cabinet of Saxon and Engliſh coins is one of the nobleſt in this kingdom.

Athelard has the character of a learned, pious, and good man (1); he ſat at Canterbury from A. D. 793 to 806 (2), and had the good fortune to reunite the archbiſhopric of Lichfield, after it had exiſted as a ſeparate primacy for fourteen years (3), to that metropolis.

(1) Mr. Battely in Cantuar. Sacr. p. 67. Archbiſhop Parker, p. 94. 97.
(2) Mr. Battely ſays he died A. 803. and ſo Mr. Wharton, A. S. 1. p. 331.
(3) Rapin, p. 75. Edit. Fol.

This piece is a moſt invaluable curioſity, and 'tis probable the archbiſhops of Canterbury did not coin money before this time (1); for though king Ethelbert is ſaid to have given his city of Canterbury to Auguſtine the monk, it ſeems to have been a meer act of curteſy, and only to have been done in the way of providing him with a place of reſidence, as will be noted elſewhere (2); whence one would imagine, that neither he nor his next ſucceſſors would ever attempt to ſtrike money; would ever conceive they had a right to do ſo; or would think of uſurping ſo invidious a privilege. There was room afterwards for Athelard, Auguſtine's 13th ſucceſſor, to break the ice, and to ſet up a claim; and the circumſtances of his times, together with the appearance of things, ſeem to inforce the concluſion, that he was really the firſt that made the eſſay; but of this we ſhall ſay more hereafter (3).

The obverſe preſents us with OFFA REX M̄, or merciorum, acroſs the area; and the reverſe, which has only a croſs croſlet in the middle, is inſcrib'd + ÆÐILEARÐ PONI. The croſs croſlet of the heralds, it ſeems, is a device of remote antiquity; we have others of this age on the coins of Coenuulf, king of Mercia (4), and in No. 1. of archbiſhop Wulfred below, as likewiſe on an Egbert of Mr. Duane's. The weight of this coin is 19 grains, but it is eaten with ruſt, and much impaired by time.

Now Offa's coins are not ſcarce in general, but no one, I believe, ever ſaw one of his pennies, till this piece appeared, that was ſtruck by an archbiſhop of Canterbury; a prelate whoſe ſee was not even included within the dominions of Mercia, though they were ſo large and extenſive. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how this ſhould happen; wherefore, for the clearing of this point, I ſhall tranſcribe a letter which I wrote ſome time ago to Mr. White, for the illuſtration of this rare coin.

(1) See the Eſſay annexed. (2) See the Eſſay. (3) See the Eſſay annexed. (4) Fountaine, Tab. IV.

"SIR,

"SIR, *Whittington*, 5 *April*, 1770.

"The obverſe of your curious and moſt valuable penny is "clear, and evidently betokens it to have been ſtrucken in the "reign of Offa the Great, who acceded to the kingdom of "Mercia, A. 756, and died A. 796.

"As to the reverſe, + ÆÐILEARÐ PONI, Athelard, archbi-"ſhop of Canterbury, muſt be thereby meant, for we know "not that the biſhops of Mercia coined any money in "the Saxon times, whereas the archbiſhops of Canterbury "certainly did. Beſides, we have no biſhop of Lichfield (1) "of this name in Offa's reign; but Athelard, archbiſhop of "Canterbury, ſat from A. 793 to 806. Thirdly, the name on "the coin accords ſufficiently with the orthography of the "Saxon Chronicle, where the archbiſhops name is written "Æpelaꝛd, Apelaꝛd, Aðelꝑaꝛd, Æpelꝑeaꝛd, with ſome variation indeed, "but agreeing in the main with the coin; the firſt and fourth "mode of writing having Æ, and the fourth inſerting E, with "the *Textus Roffenſis*, which gives us *Aedilheardus* (2).

"It ſhould ſeem then, that this piece was ſtruck between the "years 793 and 796, as Athelard was not archbiſhop till 793, "and king Offa died in 796; whereupon it may be proper to "remark, that whilſt the pall was at Lichfield, as it was at "this time, there were properly three archbiſhops in the "iſland, the incumbent at Canterbury ſtill continuing to enjoy "his pall, with all his other privileges, in the ſame manner as "before.

"But the queſtion ariſes, and this indeed is the chief diffi-"culty reſpecting this penny, how comes an archbiſhop of "Canterbury to coin money by the authority of a king of "Mercia, eſpecially when Offa ſeems to have been the profeſ-"ſed enemy of that ſee? and had actually erected an arch-"biſhopric of his own at Lichfield? To this I anſwer, that "Offa was very powerful in Kent, that the primates at Can-"terbury were forced to ſubmit to him, and to act by and

(1) I may add, nor of any other ſee, that can be ſuppoſed to be within Offa's dominions; for which ſee Archbiſhop Parker, p. 93.

(2) 'Tis the ſame name as Adelard, K. of Weſſex, ſucceſſor of Ina, who, in the Saxon Chron. A. 728. is called Æthelheard.

" under his authority, their own prince being then much de-
" preſſed, and, as it were, under a cloud (1). Offa, indeed,
" is ſaid to have hated Lambert or Janibert (2), Athelard's im-
" mediate predeceſſor, but we read of no particular averſion
" he had to Athelard; on the contrary I ſhould imagine, from
" the great weight and influence he then had in the Kentiſh
" kingdom, he was rather inſtrumental in promoting Athelard
" to that primacy.

" I know but one objection to the above poſition, that the
" piece was coined between 793 and 796, viz. that as Athelard
" was tranſlated from Wincheſter to Canterbury, and conſe-
" quently was a biſhop before 793, this penny might be
" ſtrucken by him before that date, PONĪ, or *Pontifex*, being as
" applicable to a biſhop of Wincheſter (3), as to an archbiſhop
" of Canterbury. This, however, could not well be; for the
" reaſon given above againſt the biſhops of Mercia holds
" equally againſt the biſhops of Weſſex, viz. that we know
" not that ever any of them coined money in the Saxon times.
" To which let it be added, that Offa, by whoſe authority
" the piece was apparently coined, had never any thing to do
" with Weſſex, or the prelates of that kingdom.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE."

'Tis very obſervable, that the mint-maſter's name does not occur on this coin, nor on ſome others below, though, as will be ſtated hereafter, it is ſo ſeldom omitted in the Saxon ſpecie. We muſt ſuppoſe that the prelates, in theſe caſes, were reſponſible for their officers.

II.

This penny is equally rare with the former; for though Kenulph's coins, in whoſe reign this was minted, are not few,

(1) Rapin, p. 58. (2) Idem, p. 75.

(3) Du Freſne in Voce. Gibſon, Codex. p. 224. Dugd. Monaſt. iii. p. 234. 238. Mr. Battely is miſtaken, when in Cantuar. Sacr. p. 61, he eſteems this term as peculiar to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

yet this is an unic at preſent in reſpect of the prelate its fabricator: it receives great light from what has been ſaid on the former piece, and is the property of that humane and communicative gentleman Matthew Duane, of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq; who was ſo obliging as to cauſe it to be engraved, with three other valuable metropolitical coins, all included in this aſſemblage, for my uſe and inſpection. Mr. Duane's cabinet is very extenſive, conſiſting of diverſe ſeries, and richly furniſhed in all. In this particular branch it affords more ſpecimens than any other *cimelium* we have.

+ ÆÐILЧEARÐ Æ—RĒP. The inſcription runs into the area of the coin, as ſometimes happens in the Mercian ſpecie, and as we ſee it do again in the obverſe of this very piece. I take the *lineola* between Æ and R to be a note of abbreviation, as well as that over ĒP, and to intimate to us that ᒪHI is omitted. The orthography of the prelate's name correſponds perfectly with the *Textus Roffenſis* (1), except that the Latin termination is here omitted.

The obverſe, which is divided triangularly, as the coins of Coenuulf, king of Mercia, often are (2), is to be read + ᒪOᒪHVVLF REX ϒ, the ϒ, which ſtands for *Merciorum*, being placed in the area. The ſecond ᒪ in the king's name was undoubtedly intended for E, and the ſecond V, omitted in the line, or in its proper place, is written in the area underneath. See the type.

The age of this penny may be determined to a few years; king Offa died A. 796, Egfrid his ſon reigned but four or five months, and then Kenulph, or Coenuulf, took the crown. So that the piece was undoubtedly ſtrucken between A. D. 796 and 806 (or 803) (3), when Athelard himſelf died; probably about A. 800. Weight is 19 grains.

(1) See above. (2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, Tab. IV. (3) See above.

WULFRED.

THIS prelate, who ſucceeded Athelard, ſat from A. 806, (1) to 830, or 832. He was a conſiderable benefactor to his church, and a ſtrenuous aſſertor of its rights (2), and before his death procured the enlargement of his ſovereign, impriſoned by Kenulph, king of Mercia (3).

I.

The firſt penny, from the earl of Pembroke's collection, engraved alſo by Mr. Wiſe, in his 17th table, preſents us with the archbiſhop's head, and a full face, with a cap, and included in an inner circle, + VVLFREÐI ARCHIEPISCOP. Rev. a croſs croſlet, and the legend written round, + DOROVERNIÆ CIVITATIS.

The name is here latinized, which is ſeldom, perhaps never, ſeen on the regal coins; and, I preſume, as it is put in the genitive caſe, VVlfredi, the word *moneta* or *nummus*, is underſtood.

The full face is alſo uncommon in the regal ſpecie; nay, I do not recollect a ſingle inſtance of it, till the reign of king Edward the Confeſſor; thoſe coins with the full face, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VI. EAÐVVARÐ. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, being coins of that prince. All our prelatical coins, however, are in that form, except No. 1. of the *Numiſmata incerta* below.

As to the cap, which appears on this, and the other pennies of this metropolitan, (as likewiſe on ſeveral of the coins of his ſucceſſor, as will be noted in the reſpective places) we are informed by Du Freſne (4), that the forked mitre of the modern ſhape, was not in uſe till A. D. 1000, or thereabouts: Inſomuch that it would be in vain to expect its appearence in theſe old pennies; and therefore the only covering of the head, we may imagine, would be a cap, though perhaps ſometimes ornamented with fringe or embroidery, as we ſhall find below, and as we obſerve it is on the celebrated gold coin of Vigmund,

(1) Battely ſays, 803. See in Athelard above. (2) Ibidem.
(3) Archbiſhop Parker, p. 103. (4) Du Freſne in Gloſſ. v. mitra.

or

or Wigmund, archbiſhop of York, who died A. 854, and is adorned with a ſimilar cap (1).

Mr. Thwaites (2), indeed, thought he diſcovered the ancient form of the mitre, combined with the paſtoral ſtaff, and the book with ſeven ſeals, in the ſecond coin of Anlaf, Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables, No. III. but Mr. Walker takes that device rather to repreſent the front of a church (3). Sir Andrew Fountaine, however, did not agree with him, but declared frankly he knew not what to make of it. It is certainly no mitre. The late Mr. Anſtis obſerves, that biſhops and abbots in *foreign parts*, wore their mitres differently, the biſhops with the broad ſide, and the abbots with the horns or ſlits before (4); but this, he remarks, is a diſtinction not *always* obſerved, at leaſt not here. There is alſo ſome difference now made in the bearing of the mitre by metropolitans and the ſuffragans, the former placing it in their coat armour on a ducal coronet, a practice lately introduced, and the latter having it cloſe to the eſcocheon. A nicety that was not attended to in the ruder ages.

As to the reverſe, we have here the place of coinage expreſſed, DOROVERNIA, or Canterbury; and perhaps it is the firſt time that the name of a city or town occurs on any of our coins. DOROVERNIA, with V inſtead of B, is the ancient mode of writing, ſince in the itinerary of Antoninus, the name of this city is always ſo given; and indeed, though the difference in pronunciation between V and B is not great, and therefore we ſhall often find this name hereafter written with B, yet V is neareſt the truth, and accords beſt with the etymology of this ancient name, which, in Mr. Camden's opinion, is *Durwhern*, ſignifying in Britiſh, a *rapid river* (5). Mr. Thoreſby has a remark concerning this name, which requires ſome animadverſion; he ſays, "that city [Canterbury] occurs not, I

(1) Lord Pembr. Numiſm. part iv. tab. 23. or, Series of Diſſert. on A—Saxon Remains.
(2) Ed. Thwaites, Notæ in A—Sax. Nummos.
(3) Ob. Walker in Camden, Tab. III. No. 34.
(4) Mr. Anſtis in Collections to Dr. Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 91.
(5) Camden Brit. Col. 238. alſo Somner Antiq. Canterb. p. 1, 2. Archbiſhop Parker, p. 50.

"think,

" think, upon any of the monies of the Saxon kings, by the " name of *Dorobernia*, but *Cantuaraburg*" (1), by which if he means, as I ſuſpect he does, the Saxon ſpecie in general, and not the regal coins ſtrictly taken and as contradiſtinguiſhed to the prelatical ones, he is undoubtedly in an error. For our ſmall collection ſhews clearly, that this city was often called *Dorovernia*, or *Dorobernia*, in the Saxon ages; and the ſame appears from Dr. Wilkins's Collection of the Councils; not to mention venerable Bede and the *Textus Roffenſis*; indeed, where the language is Latin, whether in books or coins, or ſubſcriptions to councils, *Dorobernia* is an uſual term perpetually occurring.

II.

This anonymous penny is in the Pembrochian Collection, part IV. tab. 2, and will be appropriated, under the 5th article (2), to this prelate. The obverſe gives us the like head and cap, with the fillet fringed, as in the ſaid 5th article, and the inſcription, + SÆEBERHT MONETA. Reverſe has, in three lines acroſs the area, DOROBERNIA CIVITAS, with three dots above, and as many below. N.B. 'Tis here *Dorobernia*, with B.

III.

The third is an inedited coin from his grace the duke of Devonſhire's cabinet, who, of his great condeſcenſion, was ſo obliging as to permit a drawing of his archiepiſcopal pennies to be made for my uſe; obverſe exhibits the prelate's full face included within an inner circle, + VVLFRED ARCHIEPIS. Rev. in four lines acroſs the area, + DOROBERNIA CIVITAS.

IV.

The property of Matthew Duane, Eſq; The archbiſhop's buſt with a plain mitre, + VVLFPED ARCHIEPI. The A of Archiepiſcopi, you obſerve, is placed under the D in *Wulfred*, which is very particular. The name alſo is latinized,

(1) Thoreſby in Camden, col. CCII.

(2) See alſo No. 4. below.

and

and put in the genitive caſe; ſee on the firſt coin above. The area of the rev. is filled with a curious monogram, for which I ſhall refer to the plate, obſerving that the obvious interpretation of it is DOROBERN. LV. or Dorobernia Civitas; LV being an uſual abbreviation of *Civ* for *Civitas*. See the like monogram and abbreviation on the coins of Ceolnoth below. The inſcription is + SALBERHT MOHETA, for SAEBERHT (1), who coined money, as we ſhall ſee preſently, for this prelate; inſomuch, that this curious and very perfect penny greatly confirms the appropriation of the anonymous coin, No. 2, to this archbiſhop. Weight is 21 ⅛ grains.

V.

The fifth penny of this prelate's, never before engraved, was the property of the late Right Honourable Edward Weſton, Eſq; of Somerby, Com. Linc. On the obverſe, there is the archbiſhop's full face, with his cap, the fillet ſtitched or embroidered, and the epigraphe + VVLFRED (2) ARLHIEPI. whereas it is given in the genitive caſe, *Archiepī*. being the uſual abbreviation of *Archiepiſcopi*, *nummus* or *moneta* muſt be again underſtood. Mr. White has a piece much the ſame with this, only it gives ARLHIEP ¯ for ARLHIEPI. it weighs bearly 22 grains, and Mr. Weſton's ſomething more than 21 grains. The rev. has a monogram or cypher in the area, which I interpret DORO CV. that is, DOROvernia CiVitas, and the legend is + SÆEBERHT (3) MONETA. In the year 1766, I wrote an epiſtle to my learned and worthy friend, Daniel Wray, Eſq; Deputy Teller of the Exchequer, and Vice Preſident of the Antiquarian Society, on the ſubject of this and the ſecond penny, regiſtred above, which as it fully expreſſes my thoughts in reſpect of them both, I cannot do better than here tranſcribe it.

(1) Thus L is miſcut for E in Athelard, No. 2.
(2) The name of the prelate, you obſerve, is not here latinized.
(3) One of the kings of Eſſex bore this name.

" SIR, *Whittington, Dec.* 20, 1766.

" The prelatical coins of the Anglo-Saxons are in general " very rare: ſome time ago I diſcovered one amongſt the *in-* " *certa numiſmata* in Sir Andrew Fountaine's ixth table, and " communicated my ſentiments upon it to the ſociety, ſhew- " ing it to belong to Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canter- " bury (1). There is an anonymous penny in Lord Pem- " broke's Collection, part IV. tab. 2. which I have now reaſon " to believe is the property of archbiſhop Wulfred, who ſat in " the ſame ſee from A. 806 to 832. I ground the conjecture " on a fine and fair piece of his, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. " Weſton, of Lincolnſhire, who was pleaſed to ſend me a " very neat drawing of it by the hand of my reſpectable friend " John Bradley, Eſq; of Lincoln, which I have here the ho- " nour, by your mediation and friendſhip, of laying before " the ſociety (2), and a drawing of lord Pembroke's coin along " with it, for the illuſtration of both.

" What I propoſe to do in this paper is, to elucidate Mr. " Weſton's penny, this being the *medium* whereby the other is " appropriated, and therein to diſcover, in few words, the " true owner of lord Pembroke's piece.

" Mr. Weſton's penny was found near Limber, in that " part of Lincolnſhire that is called Lindſey, and formerly " belonged to the ſee or province of York. The penny, how- " ever, does not appertain to the famous Wilfrid, archbiſhop " of York, whoſe life is written by Eddius Stephanus, and of " whom we read ſo much in venerable Bede, and other au- " thors; for I have reaſon to think, after conſidering this ſub- " ject in the beſt manner I am capable of, we have no Saxon " coins ſo ancient as the time of Wilfrid of York, who died " A. 711.

" The perſon then I fix upon is Wulfred, archbiſhop of " Canterbury, who began to ſit there A. 806. Stephen Birch- " ington (3), and the *Textus Roffenſis* (4), I obſerve, write his

(1) The diſſertation here referred to, ſhall be inſerted below.
(2) This letter to Mr. Wray was read at the Society.
(3) Wharton, Angl. Sacr. I. p. 3.
(4) *Textus Roffenſis* in my Tranſcript, p. 20.

" name-

" name VVLFREDVS, as on the coin, allowing for the latiniza-
" tion of it. See alſo Wharton's Angl. Sacr. p. 53. 85. 87.
" 97. and Thomas Sprott, p. 128, 129, in all which places
" we have the ſame orthography, as likewiſe in lord Pem-
" broke's coin of this prelate, to be cited below; whereas
" Beda writes the archbiſhop of York, Vilfrid, and Vilfridus,
" and the Saxon verſion there Wilfrith and Wilfreth. Here
" alſo it ſhould be remarked, that though Lindſey did once
" formerly belong to the ſee and the province of York, as ſtated
" above, yet after the erection of the ſee of Sidnaceſter, it be-
" came a part of the province of Canterbury, and conſequently
" was ſo in the time of archbiſhop Wlfred, which ſeems ſuf-
" ficiently to account for a coin of his being found there. On
" the contrary, it was not in the province of York when the
" great Wilfrid ſat there.

" The mitre, or cap rather, is according to the form of the
" times; ſee a coin of Ceolnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury,
" who acceded A. 832, in Camden, Plate I. No. 4. I have
" ſeen another of the ſame prelate's (1), with the like orna-
" ment; and ſee a third of Ceolnoth's, in Sir Andrew Foun-
" taine, Tab. III. as alſo his IXth Tab. No. 6, of the *incerta*
" *numiſmata*. But what is moſt to the purpoſe, we have a
" coin of this very Wlfred's in lord Pembroke's Collection,
" Part IV. Tab. 2. with the ſame covering on the head, and
" the ſame manner of ſpelling the name. The mitre of the
" preſent form, as we learn both from Spanheim and Du
" Freſne (2), was not in uſe at this time; however, had not
" yet reached England.

" If there wanted any further proof, that the coin in queſ-
" tion appertained to Wlfred of Canterbury, and not Wilfred
" of York, I would ſuggeſt, that in lord Pembroke's plate,
" cited above, there is a coin by the ſame maſter, SAEBERHT,
" (for Saebert is the name of the mint-maſter) coined at
" Canterbury, and a prelatical coin too, as appears by the head
" and its cap, as above. That coin, by the way, has no
" owner, does not expreſs to us, that is, the name of the
" prelate to whom it belongs; but in all probability, as it was

(1) This is Mr. Knight's coin, which will be regiſtred in its place.
(2) See Art. I. above.

" the work of the ſame mint-maſter as Mr. Weſton's coin,
" and reſembles it ſo much on the obverſe, it belongs to no
" other archbiſhop of Canterbury but our Wlfred.

" So much for the obverſe; as to the reverſe, Saebert is the
" name of the mint-maſter, who, I think, has moſtly a place
" on the Saxon coins, and conſequently MONETA is part of
" *monetarius*. The monogram comes next, and laſtly, under
" conſideration. Now as the coin has nothing to do with
" Lindſey, otherwiſe than as being accidentally loſt and found
" there, but relates entirely to Canterbury, I conceive the mo-
" nogram muſt have been intended to denote ſomething rela-
" tive to this latter place, and I interpret it accordingly DORO,
" i. e. DORObernia, in which abbreviated manner the name
" of the ſame city is repreſented on the penny of archbiſhop
" Plegmund, mentioned above (1). D is apparently over the
" firſt O, as R is over the ſecond. Others, perhaps, may diſ-
" cover the whole word *Dorobernia* in this cypher, and it is cer-
" tainly written at length both on the anonymous coin ſtrucken
" by Saeberht, and in lord Pembroke's other coin belonging
" to this prelate (2). I have therefore no objection to the
" other letters, BERNIA, being included in the monogram.
" *Civitas* is often expreſſed on theſe occaſions; ſee the two
" coins laſt mentioned, and Sir Andrew Fountaine's IXth Ta-
" ble. Quære therefore whether CV may not be deſigned for
" the abbreviation of that word?

" This is the whole of what I have to ſay both on Mr. Weſ-
" ton's elegant penny, and the anonymous one in the cabinet
" of the earl of Pembroke; I wiſh it may prove of ſatisfaction
" to the gentlemen of the ſociety, to whoſe ſervice I profeſs
" myſelf moſt particularly devoted, being, Sir, both their's,

and your moſt obedient Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE."

(1) See it here alſo in the plate; as alſo the 2d of Ceolnoth.
(2) No. I. above.

CEOLNOTH.

CEOLNOTH.

THIS prelate, whom Ob. Walker and Sir Andrew Fountaine call the *good Biſhop*, acceded A. 832, and died A. 870, or 872. And as Fleogild and Syred both died ſoon after their election, he may be deemed, in reſpect of the preſent ſubject, the immediate ſucceſſor of Wulfred.

He had alſo the name of Ciathredus (1), but on the coins the orthography is, Ceolnoth, Coelnoth, Culnod, Ciulnod, and Cielnoth, by the firſt of which he is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, as likewiſe in Matthew of Weſtminſter, and Florence of Worceſter, whilſt the *Textus Roffenſis* has *Celnodus*. I preſume that *Colnod*, on a ſtica of Eanred king of Northumberland (2), may alſo be the ſame name contracted from *Coelnod*. Theſe variations tend to ſhew how miſerably fluctuating and unſettled our orthography was in theſe times, when ſo few were able to read and write, and there were no other rules for it but vulgar pronunciation, which, no doubt, was often extremely vitious and depraved.

I.

This penny is part of the Pembrochian Collection; it has the prelate's effigies with a cap, exactly like No. 1. of Wulfred; the inſcription + ꟾIVLNOÐ (3) ꟸRꟾEPIS. id eſt, *Archiepiſcopus*, the abbreviation being ſimilar to that of the famous York coin of Vigmund (4); and that which occurs ſo frequently in the Saxon Chronicle, of *Arceb.* for *Arcebiſcop.* The reverſe gives us the ancient monogram of Chriſt, ſo common on the Roman coins after the reign of Conſtantine the Great. The legend + VVYNIMRE MONETA. Mr. Thwaites, whoſe notes on the Saxon coins were printed at Oxford, A. 1708, divides what I eſteem to be the mint-maſter's name, thus, VVYNI- ꟹRE

(1) Archbiſhop Parker, Antiq. Brit. Eccl.
(2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, Table X, No. 4.
(3) Sir Andr. Fount. who alſo has engraved this piece, gives it CVLNOD.
(4) See the Eſſay annexed.

[magnus];

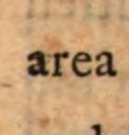
[magnus]; adding, ⊦ *denotat* E. Thus again, in the 11th coin of king Cnut, in Sir Andrew Fountaine's IVth Table, he divides LEODMER into LEOD MÆR, interpreting the laſt word *magnus*; ſo that the maſter's name, according to him, is Wine. But this I cannot approve. Mr. Thwaites was too viſionary to be a good medaliſt. He had a notion the minters of theſe early times were earls, or other great men, for which I can ſee no reaſon; for though the maſters *generally* put their names on the currency, and perhaps might be obliged to do ſo, as reſponſible for the weight and purity of the ſpecie, yet one cannot rationally ſuppoſe they ranked with earls. But I ſhall ſay no more of this matter in this place, as it will fall more properly under conſideration in the ſubſequent eſſay, than juſt to remark, that there is ſomething very abſurd in a man's ſtiling himſelf *the great Coiner*; another perſon might term him ſo, ſuppoſing him to be very eminent in his profeſſion, but it is not natural for a man to deſcribe himſelf by ſo lofty and arrogant a title; eſpecially, for one who was not the king's, but only the archbiſhop's ſervant, a workman at a ſecondary mint. I would therefore rather take it in one word, Wynimre, that is, Wynimer, by a tranſpoſition of the canine letter and its vowel, ſo frequent in our language, and which makes ſo little difference in pronunciation. The vowel for the ſame reaſon is often *omitted*, as in VVINIFR for Winifer, in the coins of St. Edmundſbury, in Sir A. Fountaine's VIth Table.

II.

This coin, from Sir Andrew Fountaine's IIId Table, is engraved alſo in Speed, Camden, and Mr. Wiſe's 17th Table. It occurs likewiſe in the duke of Devonſhire's cabinet. The archbiſhop's effigies has the uſual cap, but with a ſtitch'd or embroider'd fillet. ꝈEOLNOÐ ꝸRꝈHIEP. Reverſe, a rich compounded croſs, very curious, conſidering the time, fills the area, + DIꝸLꝸ MONETꝸ DORO. There is no doubt but DORO ſtands for DORObernia, and the minter Diala may perhaps be the ſame workman who is written Diola on a penny of Coenulf king of Mercia, who died A. D. 819; for I eſteem it no uncommon thing for a workman to change his maſter. See the 1ſt and 2d of Plegmund. This penny, now extant in the cabinet

cabinet of the Hon. James Weſt, Eſq; Preſident of the Royal Society, to whom I have great obligations, weighs 20½ grains.

III.

This curious inedited number comes from the cabinet of that worthy gentleman, whom I have the honour to call my particular friend, Thomas Knight, of Godmerſham, in Kent, Eſq. It weighs 23 grains now, and a piece being broken off, was probably coin'd for 24. Mr. White has alſo a ſpecimen of the ſame, weighing 22 grains. The buſt is like No. II. and the inſcription + ꟾIALNOÐ ĀRꟾ. The reverſe has in the area  which perhaps may be intended for a paſtoral ſtaff and a croſs united together; ſo that the letters ꟾA may mean Cealnoth Archiepiſcopus; but I incline to think the truth to be DORO ꟾV. i. e. Dorobernia Civitas; ꟾV being the uſual abbreviation of Civitas (1). The inſcription, however, is clear, + VVIERE ꝟONETA. or, as in Mr. White's piece, VVI-ERE MONETĀ.

IV.

This penny, which is Mr. Duane's, exhibits the archbiſhop's buſt, with a cloſe embroider'd cap, the fillet very broad. Inſcription, ꟾEOLNOÐ ĀRꟾHIEP. The reverſe is very ſingular, as the legend, which begins on a broad croſs, runs into the quarters of the area, + HERELĀ MONETĀ. Weight is 18 grains, but there is a ſmall fracture in the edge.

V.

The obverſe of this piece, which is in the Britiſh Muſeum, and weighs 19½ grains, reſembles Mr. Duane's exactly, ſo as to be thought to be the ſame die, as to that ſide. It has a like ſnip or fracture alſo. The reverſe, however, varies, and conſtitutes it conſequently a different coin, + BIĀRNRED MONETĀ. The letters are placed in the ſame uncommon manner with thoſe on Mr. Duane's penny.

(1) See Wulfred, No. V.

VI.

VI.

My reſpectable friend, Mr. Benjamin Bartlet, apothecary, of Red Lion Street, to whom this work ſtands indebted for his unremitted aſſiduities in promoting it, is the worthy poſſeſſor of this hitherto un-engraved penny. A full face with a ſtitched or embroidered cap, + ŁOELNOƉ ÆRŁ. Reverſe, a monogram, reſembling that on No. III. BIORNƳOD ƳONET. weight 16½ grains. 'Tis the ſame name, though not the ſame perſon, as Beornmod, biſhop of Rocheſter, *Chron. Sax.* p. 34. *Textus Roffenſis*, p. 21. of my MS. copy. And quære whether *Diernodus* in Thorne, col. 1776 and 2240, be not miſ-written for Biernmod?

PLEGMUND.

THIS prelate was a native of Mercia, and one of the moſt learned men of the iſland in his time: He acceded to Canterbury A. 889, and died A. 915, ſo that his incumbency comprized the latter half part of the reign of Ælfred the Great, with whom he was a particular favourite, and the greateſt part of that of Edward the Elder.

I.

We are ſo unfortunate as to have no effigies of this prelate, and therefore ſhall begin his ſeries with one of the Harkirk coins, which appears in Obadiah Walker's Latin Verſion of Sir John Spelman's Life of K. Ælfred, as alſo in Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Camden. Mr. Walker ſays, on the obverſe (which by miſtake he calls the reverſe, as likewiſe he does in the Life of Ælfred) is the pallium or pall, and yet, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, he obſerves at laſt, that it is not unlike the *pedum*, or paſtoral ſtaff of the oriental biſhops. Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Thoreſby alſo term it a paſtoral ſtaff; but, for my part, I eſteem it to be the pall, which in after times, as

Walker

Walker remarks, was very differently faſhioned, and was the proper *inſigne* of an archbiſhop. I ſhall inſert a word here, however, on the *pedum*, or paſtoral ſtaff. According to the heralds, the arms of *Odo*, biſhop of Baieux, were, gueulles a lion rampant d'argent, au croſier ſtafe en band ſiniſter d'or. But I know not by what authority they aſſign him this coat. Why muſt the croſier be ſiniſter, when, though William his half brother was a baſtard, he was not, but was both begotten and born in lawful wedlock? *Gul. Gemitic*, p. 268. They ſeem to be wrong, too, in making the croſier of the preſent form; for, as has been obſerved, in *Archæologia S. Antiq.* p. 344. Odo's ſtaff was of a very different figure. Beſides, one has reaſon to ſuſpect, that armorial bearings were things unknown in Europe in *Odo*'s days. The earlieſt repreſentation of the croſier which I have met with, in the common form, is upon a penny of Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, in king Stephen's reign, engraved by Mr. Folkes (1). And in the inveſtitures *per baculum*, of which we read ſo much in the great conteſt about them, temp. Hen. I. the *Baculus* was probably of that ſhape. I return to our coin; the inſcription is + PLEƖMVNÐ ÆRƖHIEP. Reverſe has three croſſes in feſſe, over which is ÆÐEL, and under, VLF MO. Now Æthelulf was a mint-maſter of Ælfred the Great (2), and of Burgred, king of Mercia (3), who died A. 873; but Mr. Walker, by a miſtake frequent in him, as alſo in Thoreſby, Thwaites, and Sir Andrew Fountaine, reckons him to be a duke or earl (4).

II.

This was one of Sir Robert Cotton's coins, but is now loſt, as many of his coins are, and conſequently does not appear in the Britiſh Muſeum. However, it is well engraved in Mr. Selden's *Spicileg. ad Eadmer*. p. 217. It occurs alſo in Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Camden. There is a croſs in the area, + PLEƖMYND ÆƖHIEP. Reverſe, three croſſes in feſſe, over which, EIƖMY; and under, ND MO. Thwaites and Thoreſby give it *Eidmund*, but in the plates it is evidently *Eicmund*, and

(1) Folkes's Tables of Silver Coins, plate I. See alſo Num. Pembr. IV. 23.
(2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, No. 8. (3) Ibid. No. 20.
(4) See Walker in the Life of Ælfred.

'tis probably the ſame name with that blundered one in No. 17. of Edmund I. in Sir Andrew Fountaine's tables; poſſibly, he might alſo be the ſame perſon, as Edmund mounted the throne A. D. 941.

III.

Amongſt the *Numiſmata incerta* in Sir Andrew Fountaine's ninth table, there is a penny which I conceive may belong to this prelate. It has in the area a ſmall croſs with this inſcription, ⁘ RIƎƎMVN DORO, where ſome of the letters are reverſed, but the whole, ſuppoſing the firſt letter to be miſ-read, or perhaps miſ-cut in the original, is plainly, PLEGEMVN DORObernenſis. The reverſe has ⁘ o ⁘ in feſſe, above which is, ENZA; and below, MMO. The coin appears alſo in Camden, where Walker ſays *it is to him unknown*, and Mr. Thoreſby thinks it to be the property of Edmund the Martyr, his name being inverted DNVMƎ, but what to make of the reſt of the letters he could not tell. But certainly, if this penny appertained to any Edmund, it ought rather to be Edmund I. ſince it has more of the manner of his reign, than of that of Edmund the Martyr. The reverſe, Mr. Thoreſby ſays, is ENSAM MOneta, perhaps for Eveſham, or Eſham, in Worceſterſhire (1). But this we ſhall examine by and by.

It is no objection with me, that it is *Plegemun* inſtead of *Plegemund*, as in names of this termination D is ſometimes omitted; hence, in a coin of Edmund I. we have Edmun (2); or perhaps two D's coming together, one of them might be caſually dropt, as we often experience in our common writing. The lozenge-like O, thus ◇, you have on the reverſe, as likewiſe on many of the Mercian pieces. But I ſhall here inſert a memoir on this penny, formerly ſent to Daniel Wray, Eſq; and read at the Society of Antiquaries, A. D. 1764, wherein the above appropriation of this coin is minutely juſtified and accounted for.

" In the firſt table of Saxon coins, in biſhop Gibſon's editions of *Camden's Britannia*, we have the type of a ſilver penny,

(1) *Warwickſhire*, Muſ. 343. *malè*. (2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, No. 17.

the

the original whereof is ſaid to have been in the poſſeſſion both of the late worthy Mr. Ralph Thoreſby, the *Leeds* Antiquarian, and of Mr. William Charleton; 'tis the laſt in that plate. Sir Andrew Fountaine has alſo engraved it in the ninth table of his collection of his Anglo-Saxon coins, publiſhed along with the learned Dr. Hickes's *Theſaurus*. Mr. Obadiah Walker has likewiſe given it in his Latin verſion of Sir John Spelman's Life of King Ælfred, Tab. vii. No. 2. and indeed Walker was the firſt of our Antiquaries that exhibited it.

" 'Tis plain Sir Andrew Fountaine knew not well to whom to refer this piece, having placed it amongſt the *Incerta Numiſmata*, and paſſed it over in ſilence in his Commentary. Obadiah Walker in his notes, which we have in his edition of Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and in the ſeveral editions of Camden, declares the ſame concerning himſelf; and even Mr. Edward Thwaites, who is ſeldom backward in offering his conjectures (ſuch as they are) lets the coin go without ſaying a word (1). The only author, in ſhort, that has made any attempt towards the illuſtration of it, ſo far at leaſt as I have been able to learn, is the abovementioned Mr. Thoreſby, whoſe words, tranſcribed from his Commentary in the late editions of Camden, here follow,

> ' 35th ſeems to be of *Edmund the Martyr*, his name is ' verted DNVMƎ (2); but what to make of the reſt of ' the letters, I know not. Reverſe, ENSAM MOne- ' ta, perhaps for Eveſham, or Eſham, in Worceſter- ' ſhire (3).'

" I wonder this gentleman did not rather pitch upon Eynſham, or Enſham, in Oxfordſhire, which approaches much nearer in ſound, and is a very ancient place, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, where it is mentioned in the year 571. (4) As this was ſo obvious, I thought proper juſt to remark it, leſt any one falling upon this conjecture might imagine he had

(1) Thwaites, Notæ in A—Saxonum Nummos, Oxon. 1708.
(2) Read ƆNVME, as in his Muſeum, p. 343.
(3) See alſo Thoreſby's Muſeum, l. c.
(4) See alſo Johnſon's Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, &c. An. MIX. Lambard's Topogr. Dict. p. 113. Biſhop Tanner's Notitia Mon. p. 417. and Camd. Brit. Col. 294. Edit. 1722.

hit upon the right key, whereas it will be ſhewn in the progreſs of this paper, that this can no more be the true interpretation than the other.

" Before I propoſe my own conjecture concerning this coin, it will be neceſſary for me, I preſume, to diſprove this of Mr. Thoreſby, and indeed I ſcarcely ever ſaw a more unfortunate one.

——————— *quas aut incuria fudit,*
Aut humana parum cavit Natura.

" St. Edmund the Martyr was king of Eaſt-Anglia, which containing only Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeſhire, no town of Worceſterſhire, how antient or conſpicuous ſoever, could poſſibly have any thing to do with him; ſhould it be ſaid, that in after times, namely, after his martyrdom and canonization, ſome religious houſes of his invocation might there be founded, that is not pretended in the caſe, and I don't find that ever St. Edmund the king was particularly honoured at Eveſham, either with a monaſtery, or the dedication of any parochial church or chapel. The ſame may be ſaid of Eynſham in Oxfordſhire. Beſides, had this coin been ſtrucken by any great abbot in remembrance of this ſaint, you would probably have had him called SC. i. e. Sanctus upon it, in like manner as he is ſtiled on the coins minted by the abbots of St. Edmunſbury (1); in ſhort, the obverſe and reverſe of this coin are not conſiſtent with each other, according to theſe explications.

" This general obſervation premiſed, I ſhall now ſhew more particularly, that neither of the legends are rightly interpreted. To begin with the obverſe;

" Edmund the Martyr can have no claim to this coin, becauſe there are no pieces at all of the Eaſt Anglian kingdom come down to us (2); for that penny which Sir Andrew Fountaine

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VI. No. 24, 25, 26, 27. and, I may add, as on the S. Petri Moneta.

(2) Sigberet, king of Eaſt-Anglia, acceded to the throne A. 636, and A. 644 was killed in battle by the Mercians. As he was a Chriſtian, and a patron of learning,

Fountaine aſcribes to Eric, who was ſlain A. 905, belongs to Eric the Daniſh king of Northumberland (1); and as to that in the third table, which he attributes to king Aldulf, who aſcended that throne A. D. 664, I ſhall take upon me to ſay, from the little experience I have in theſe matters, that the piece is no Anglo-Saxon coin (2); and further, that there is no Saxon coin extant, I mean that has yet been publiſhed, that riſes to ſo high a date; for as to Mr. Thoreſby's famous unic of St. Edwin of Northumberland, that I could eaſily ſhew, belongs to a much more modern prince, king Edward the Confeſſor (3). This is now a great preſumptive argument againſt Mr. Thoreſby's way of reading the obverſe of this

learning, he procured biſhop Felix, a Burgundian, to be ſent to him from Canterbury, to aſſiſt him in his laudable deſigns for the promotion of religion and good literature; and the account which John Leland gives of their joint proceedings, runs thus: 'Oſtroangli fidei precepta edocti, ſe totos Deo O. M. conſe-'craverunt; Princepſq; impendio delectatus apoſtoli et epiſcopi ſui ſanctitate, ſe-'dem ei de more ſtatuit in litorali ſed antiqua ſudovolcarum civitate; quam Oſtro-'angli veteres quidem illi, ut ex numiſmatum inſcriptionibus apparet, DONMOC 'appellabant; ſed poſtea, invaleſcente epiſcopi autoritate, FELIXSTOW a 'vulgo, et a doctis *Felicia* dicta eſt; noſtra tamen ætas reliquias urbis olim 'magnæ, at nunc longa maris violentia multum diminutæ, DVNEWIC vocat, 'et nos, ut latinius perſonet, *Dunowicum* *.'

But now there is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe that Leland meant to tell us, he had ſeen Eaſt-Anglian coins of the age of Sigberet and Felix, with DONMOC in the legends: Nor do I think he deſign'd to ſay he found that name on any coins of that kingdom, in its heptarchical ſtate; for, in fact, I preſume there were never any ſtruck there. All that he propoſed to advance, is, that he had ſeen it ſo written on ſome Saxon coins of the monarchy, ſince Egbert, for example; and from thence concluded, as with reaſon and juſtice he might, that this was the antient and original name and orthography of the place, before it was called *Felixſtow* and *Dunewic*.

* Leland in Tanneri Biblioth. v. Sigebertus. (1) See the Eſſay, p. 54.

(2) Since the penning of this Memoir, A. 1764, the Rev. and learned Mr. Clarke, of Buxted, in the *Connexion of the Rom. Sax. and Engl. Coins*, a work fraught with variety of erudition, has admitted this coin as a genuine penny of Aldulf, of Eaſt Anglia, p. 416. but I don't find that our beſt connoiſſeurs agree with him. The original type of this penny, in Speed, has AVDVLFIVS FRISIN, and not PRISIN, as Mr. Selden's engraver, in the *Titles of Honour*, and all the latter draughts, erroneouſly give it. So that I take it to be a ſmall medal of Adolph, duke of Guelderland, FRISIN meaning Friſingenſis.

(3) Yet I obſerve that the York Antiquarian, Mr. Drake, is ſo unhappy as to take it for a real penny of St. Edwin. Eborac. in Append. p. CIII. Mr. Wiſe agrees in abjudicating it from St. Edwin, and thinks it a coin of king Edwig, but in that he is undoubtedly miſtaken. See 2d Diſſertation.

penny, to wit, that it does not appear, at preſent, that the Eaſt Angles, any more than the Eaſt and South Saxons, ever ſtruck any money.

"But 2dly, Mr. Thoreſby's ſection will only account for a ſmall part of the epigraphe, viz. five letters out of twelve; and, what is worſe, by adhering to it, you will be extremely at a loſs how to make any ſenſe of the four preceding, and the three following, which in that caſe are perfectly unintelligible, as Mr. Thoreſby himſelf admits. This, ſince thoſe letters are very fair and legible, muſt be deemed a material, and I ſhould think unſurmountable objection to this gentleman's expoſition.

"A third argument may be deduced from the nature of the ancient orthography; wherein, admitting that the rules of writing were not ſo fix'd and certain amongſt the Saxons, as they are at preſent amongſt us, yet, as they were never ſparing of their letters, ſo they preſerved much more of the etymology of the names of perſons and places, than we now do. The name, as the learned author here gives it, is *Emund*; now Edmund, king of the Eaſt Angles, was killed by the Danes, A. D. 870 (1), at which time, as likewiſe long after, the initial ſyllable of the compound *Edmund* was written univerſally Ead, which ſignifies *happy*, from the Saxon eadig, or *mild*, from the Saxon ead (2); ſo the Saxon Chronicle, and the coins give it every where. From whence I argue, that *Emund* can never be put for Eadmund, too many letters being omitted. One, it is poſſible, might be dropt by the accidental miſtake of the graver, but ſcarcely two. The concluſion is, that this cannot be the money of St. Edmund the Martyr.

"4thly and laſtly, as the martyr was ſlain in the year 870, which coincides with the reign of king Ethelred I. this was before reverſes of this form, with legends acroſs the area, were brought into uſe, they not being introduced till the next reign, ſo far as we can judge from the coins already publiſhed.

"But here it may be aſked, Though the piece appertains not to *Edmund the Martyr*, may it not be the property of ſome other prince of the ſame name, of Edmund I. or Edmund Ironſide? I ſhall reply to this queſtion, and then I have done

(1) Rapin, p. 89. (2) Gibſon ad Chron. Sax. p. 51.

with

with the obverſe. The ſecond argument from the unintelligibility of the reſt of the inſcription, in caſe you beſtow the piece upon any Edmund; and the third argument from the ancient full manner of writing the name, hold equally againſt both the other Edmunds. The coins are unanimous in repreſenting the names, *Eadmund*, both on the money of Edmund I. who ſucceeded his brother, A. 841, and on that of Edmund Ironſide, who came to the crown A. 1016. The fourth argument again, drawn from the form of the reverſe, excludes likewiſe *Ironſide*'s title, for reverſes of that complexion were left off by the Saxons long before his reign, as we ſhall have occaſion to remark below. This indeed does not affect Edmund I. whoſe pretenſions, however, are ſufficiently invalidated by the two former objections.

"I enter now upon the reverſe, which I ſhall ſhew is equally miſinterpreted. Firſt, 'tis a palpable miſtake to take the legend upon it for the name of a town, as the author here does; it being a general rule among our Saxon *monnoyeurs* to preſent us with their name in that place in *this kind of reverſes*. There are very few exceptions to this rule; (for as to that curious penny of Ælfred, with his head, and a monogram or cypher in the reverſe (1), the maſter's name is there caſually omitted, as is moſt evident from a ſpecimen in the poſſeſſion of the late Dr. Mead, where AELF was written above the monogram, and ZTAN under it.) I ſay, there are but few exceptions to this rule, and even thoſe are ſuch, which, when they are duly examined, will be found to be eſſentially different from the caſe before us. Sir Andrew Fountaine has cauſed in his tables no leſs than 116 reverſes with the letters acroſs the middle of the coins, as they are on this penny, to be engraved; and there is not above five or ſix of them that afford us the name of the place of coinage: concerning which it is obſervable, that the minter's name either accompanies the name of the place, as in Tab. II. 13. Tab. V. Eadgar, No. 12. VIII. Eadwig, 2 & 4, or elſe is put in ſome other part of the coin, as in Tab. IX. *Numiſm. incert.* No. 5 and 6. From whence we learn, that when the name of the maſter is put in any other place but the

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. I. No. 9.

area,

area, then, you have the word CIVITAS or ECCLESIA, or ſome abbreviation of them, by way of explanation, along with the name of the place in the ſaid area: And moreover, that wherever the letters *MO* follow the name, as they do in the reverſe we are now upon, the name of the mint-maſter, and not of the place of coinage, is always intended; whence it follows, that inſtead of reading the inſcription ENSAM MOneta, as Mr. Thoreſby does, and interpreting it of any town or city, it ought to be filled up thus, ENSAM MOnetarius (1), informing us that *Enſam*, whoever he was, was the maſter of the mint where this piece was coin'd. For the truth of this obſervation I appeal to a penny of Anlaf's, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. III. where the word is given more at length, MINETRIV, which can ſtand for nothing elſe but the word Monetarius, the Saxon graver being led into that mode of ſpelling, by the vernacular mynet. I appeal to another in Tab. VI. Edmund, No. 25, where it is MONETAI, the laſt ſtroke being part of R, the like unfiniſhed letters being common at the end of inſcriptions upon coins both before and after the Norman Conqueſt. I appeal to a third, in Le Blanc, p. 58, where it is written fuller, ERPONE MONETARI; ſee alſo No. 5. and 55. in that Table, to mention no more, in both which the word is complete, MXIMo MoNETARIo and CENULFVS MONETARIVS (2). This explication of the reverſe effectually excludes Mr. Thoreſby's conjecture about the town of Eveſham, as alſo it does the other above-mentioned, concerning the town of Eynſham.

"But to ſay the truth, the orthography will not permit us, 2dly, to think of either of theſe places. The coin muſt have been ſtruck, to expreſs myſelf at preſent in the groſs, before the year 978, when Ethelred II. acceded to the throne, no coins appearing after that date with reverſes exhibiting the minter's name in the field or area. Now in that early age, and long after, the name of the town of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, was never written ſhorter than Eueſham, Eoueſham, Heueſham, Eviſham, Evyſham, Eweſham, Eveſham,

(1) See the Eſſay. (2) See again in the Eſſay.

or

or Eofeſham (1). Beſides, the ſecond letter on the coin is evidently N, which has no place in any of theſe different modes of ſpelling. The ſame objection lies againſt the town of Eynſham in Oxfordſhire, in whoſe name, though the ſound of the letter N be far better expreſſed, yet it is never more abbreviately given in theſe times than Egoneſham, Igneſham, Eigneſham, Aegneſham, Egeneſham (2), Egneſham, Eyneſham, Eynſham (3), and Eanham, or Æmham (4). It will not ſeem probable, it ſhould be repreſented by ſo few letters upon this coin, in an age when letters were ſo ſubject to abound, as *Enſam*. Contractions, in general, are the effects of time; and thoſe who are but moderately acquainted with the *ſtamina* of our language, its origine, and progreſs, will immediately be ſenſible how unnatural it is, how diſſonant to the truth of facts, that before the year 978, the name either of the town of Eveſham, or of Eynſham, ſhould be written *Enſam*, as on the coin. An argument which will receive conſiderable additional weight, when it is ſhewn, as we hope it will below, that the piece was coined even before the year 915.

"A third reaſon why I cannot agree to this interpretation of the reverſe, is, that we don't find either of the towns here named had the privilege of a mint. The printed books are ſilent; and as to the coins, I meet not with either of their names in the liſt of the places of coinage amongſt the Saxons, which I formerly compiled from theſe pecuniary remains. Indeed were there a mint of either of theſe places, it would not be likely that any coins of St. Edmund ſhould have been there fabricated, for the reaſon above given, viz. that the towns were both of them out of his dominions: To which I here add, that though the monaſtery at Eveſham was a large, opulent, and ancient foundation, and the abbot, as we will ſup-

(1) Gibſon, ad Chron. Sax. p. 27. Tanner Notitia Mon. p. 618. Hickes, Præf. ad Gram. A—Sax. Camden, Brit. Col. 627, where the etymology of the name is given, according to the Monks, from *Eoves*, the ſwineherd of biſhop Egwine. Lambarde, in Topogr. Dict. p. 106, thinks, that as the town ſtands upon the river Avon, the true name may be Avonſham. But I cannot aſſent to this, as it is ſo wide from the ancient and true orthography.

(2) Gibſon, l. c. (3) Tanner, In Notitia.

(4) Johnſon, Collection of Canons, in 1009. Vide et Dugd. Monaſt. I. p. 260. Hickes, Theſ. II. p. 145. and Dr. Wilkins's Councils, I. p. 285.

poſe, might enjoy his mint-office, as the abbot of St. Auguſtine, Canterbury, and other great prelates did, yet it cannot be imagined he would ſtrike money in honour of St. Edmund, when his houſe was ſacred to the Bleſſed Virgin (1). This is contrary to all manner of probability and experience. And Eynſham being a foundation of a more recent date, and of much leſs conſequence, there is no room for believing, that the abbot there would be inveſted with the prerogative of coining; but if he was, yet, as his convent was under the patronage of other ſaints, the ſame objection lies againſt this, as was raiſed above againſt Eveſham. 'Tis evident enough, there were no mints either at Eveſham or Eynſham, that were likely to coin money in honour of St. Edmund the King; and in general, that we have not at preſent ſufficient grounds for believing, (whatever the coins hereafter to be diſcovered may afford us) that even any of our kings had an office at either of theſe places.

" Thus I have evinced, that this coin is not rightly interpreted by our antiquary; that it neither was ſtrucken at Eveſham nor Eynſham; that it cannot belong to Edmund the Martyr; and leſt any one ſhould incline to confer it on any other Saxon prince of that name, we have likewiſe ſhewn, in the courſe of the argument, that it cannot be appropriated, with any colour of reaſon, either to Edmund I. or Edmund ſirnamed Ironſide.

" Having cleared the way thus far, I ſhall now offer my own conjecture, from whence I truſt it will appear, that the coin does not belong to any king of England whatſoever, but to one of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, and was coined in that city, where, as we learn from the laws of king Athelſtan (3), the archbiſhop had his mints.

" In the firſt place, the inſcription is to be read backward, from right hand to left, as ſometimes happens in coins from the inadvertence of the artiſts that cut the dies (4). Of this there is a remarkable inſtance in Brenner's *Theſaurus Numm.*

(1) Tanner, Notitia. (2) Ibidem. (3) Dr. Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 59. (4) Spanheim de Uſu Præſt. Numiſm. Diſſ. II. Sir A. Fountaine, II. 11. 15. 22. V. 18. Le Blanc, p. 86. No. 9. EXDVREL RDROX a penny of Edward, ſenior, in the Cotton Library. Thoreſby, Muſeum, paſſim.

Sueo-

Sueo-Goth, Tab. III. Ericus, No. 6. and ſee ſome other examples cited in the margin (1). Nay, this happens ſometimes even in the beſt of the Roman coins, as in that of Lepidus in Angeloni, p. 20. and that of Tiberius, p. 34. Some of the letters again are turned the wrong way, namely, the three firſt and the fifth, and this error is likewiſe very frequently ſeen in theſe ancient monuments (2). The entire inſcription on the obverſe is, ꝺꝺOANVMEƆELR ⁘ which I read and ſeparate thus, ⁘ RLEGEMVN DORObern. importing, that this is a penny of archbiſhop Plegmund's, coined at Canterbury. This reading I ſhall now briefly juſtify. The croſſes prefixed, which are ſomewhat particular, both as to their number, and the method of placing, are exactly ſuch as occur in both reſpects on a penny of king Ælfred's (3), whoſe contemporary our prelate was. The firſt letter is a miſtake of R for P, unleſs the antiquaries that inſpected the original have been guilty of an overſight, which I am very unwilling to ſuſpect. The G of that form is common on the coins (4); and as for the two O's, which are here very angular, and in the ſhape of lozenges, you have one, which is known to be an O, of much the ſame form on the reverſe, and others elſewhere (5). The Sax. Chronicle ad An. 890 and 923, writes the name of our archbiſhop with two E's, as here on the coin, and it is a triſſyllable in the *Textus Roffenſis*, viz. Plegimundus, and therefore I ſuſpect that in *Flor. Vigorn.* Pleigmundus ſhould rather be Plegimundus (6). Two D's coming together in the inſcription, one of them might, through careleſſneſs, be omitted, unleſs theſe terminations were ſometimes written without

(1) Camd. Tab. I. 5. II. 2. IV. 7. V. 1. and the alphabets of Fountaine and Bouteroue; alſo Le Blanc, p. 58 and 86, No. 8.

(2) Sir A. Fountaine, II. 11. III. 6. V. 18. Thoreſby's Muſeum, paſſim, &c.

(3) Camb. Tab. I. No. 34.

(4) Camb. Tab. I. No. 30. II. 5. III. 11. 31. The alphabet drawn from the Saxon coins, by Sir A. Fountaine, and that out of Bouteroue, in Camden, Col. CXXVI.

(5) A coin of Burgred's in the Cotton Library; two more of his in Sir Andr. Fountaine's IIId Tab. a coin of Coenuulf, the Mercian, in the Cotton Cabinet, and the Mercian coins in general.

(6) But this I offer with diffidence, as I have ſeen the name written Pleugmundus elſewhere.

D, as in Sir A. Fountaine, V. 17. you have EADMVN for EADMVND. After this, let it be remember'd, that the archbiſhops of Canterbury coined money at this time. Archbiſhop Plegmund, who was a Mercian born, and a perſon of very conſiderable learning for that age, came to the See, A. D. 889, and died A. 915, an interval coinciding with the latter end of king Ælfred's, and the beginning of king Edward I. reign; and we have two pieces of his in Sir Andr. Fountaine's IXth Table, which being ſufficiently alike on the reverſe, and having the minter's name, in like manner as this has, in the area of their poſtics, (whereupon the form of the Saxon coins of this age very much depends) they appropriate, methinks, this penny to this age, and this perſon, beyond all contradiction. For I would obſerve, that the Saxon money ſuffered a very notable alteration in king Ælfred's reign, in regard of their poſtics or reverſes, which, inſtead of an interior circle, and an inſcription written round the coin, then firſt exhibited the minter's name in lines acroſs the area or middle of them, a practice which continued in uſe for ſome few reigns after, and ſeems to me to be an argument ſtrongly concluſive againſt any one's aſſigning this piece to St. Edmund, who was murthered before Ælfred the Great mounted the throne, as was mentioned above.

" There may be ſome doubt whether DORO in the legend was deſigned to expreſs the prelate's dignity, as if it were to be filled up thus, DORObernenſis Archiepiſcopus, or only the place of coinage, the piece being undoubtedly minted at Canterbury, where the archbiſhops in the next reign after that wherein archbiſhop Plegmund died, were allowed to have their offices for coining (1). Gentlemen will interpret as they pleaſe, for I preſcribe to nobody in a matter of ſuch great uncertainty; but for my own part, I eſteem it to indicate the place of coinage, which at this time, I find was ſometimes expreſſed on the face ſide of a coin (2), and particularly theſe very letters DORO on a famous penny of king Ælfred's (3).

(1) Wilkins, A—Sax. Leg. cited above. (2) Camden, Tab. II. 14.
(3) Sir A. Fount. I. Ælfred, No. 10. A piece on which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething in the annexed Diſſertation.

But

But ſhould any one, as I ſaid, incline to fill the legend as above, the piece will ſtill be underſtood to have been ſtrucken at Canterbury, the archbiſhop's ſtile, in that caſe, very clearly implying that.

" The reverſe of the coin has been explained above, and therefore all I ſhall ſay for a concluſion, is, that one good argument to induce us to receive this, as the true and genuine interpretation of the coin, ariſes from its making ſenſe of the inſcription, and taking in *all* the letters preſented to us; circumſtances, which in all candid judges muſt create a ſtrong prejudice in its favour, in oppoſition to the forced, unnatural, and defective enucleation tender'd by Mr. Thoreſby."

IV.

This number, a ſpecimen in fine preſervation, and hitherto inedited, is the property of his grace the duke of Devonſhire, from whoſe noble cabinet, lord George Cavendiſh, knight of the ſhire for the county of Derby, was ſo obliging as to procure me the drawing. Obverſe has a ſmall croſs in the center, with a circular inſcription, + PLEGMVND ARCHIEP. The reverſe gives three ſmall croſſes in feſſe, above them SIGEHE, and below, LM MON, Sigehelm Monetarius. The name of the artiſt is genuine Saxon, and occurs in the Saxon Chronicle (1), as alſo amongſt the biſhops of Saliſbury (2).

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 86. 101.
(2) Godwin de Præſul. p. 332, 333. Edit. luculent. Gul. Richardſon, S.T.P.

NUMIS-

NUMISMATA INCERTA.

I.

AMONGST the *Numiſmata incerta*, in Sir A. Fountaine's IXth Table, No. 5, preſents us with an effigy in profile, included within the inner circle, which is very ſingular in theſe prelatical coins, and the cap appears to be tied behind the head with rubans. The inſcription is + SVVEFNERD MONETA. The reverſe has much the ſame, : SYYEFNERD MONEꟾH, i e. moneta, for monetarius, and acroſs the area, in two lines, DR VR LITS, that is, Dorovernia Civitas. Now though the proprietor of this penny be not expreſſed, yet, in all probability, it appertains to this ſpecies, the effigies being apparently not regal but prelatical, and the name of the place appropriating it ſo clearly to Canterbury. This muſt be allowed, unleſs you will ſuppoſe the effigies to repreſent ſome abbot of St. Auguſtine's, near Canterbury, who had his mint formerly, as well as the archbiſhop (1). But ſurely the abbot, as is uſual on pontifical and monaſtical coins, witneſs the S. Petri moneta, and the St. Edmundſbury coins, would have given us ſome hint of his monaſtery, or its ſaint; indeed, as the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine was ſituate *without* the city of Canterbury, where the abbot had no buſineſs or power; and *extra muros Civitatis Cantuariæ* was the conſtant deſcription of that foundation, it would have been abſurd for any abbot of that houſe to have put *Dorovernia Civitas* upon his coins; for, before the regulation of king Athelſtan, A. 928, by which the prelates were reſtrained from placing their effigies on their coins, and were injoined to keep their mints *within the city*, concerning which particular, ſee the annexed eſſay. The abbot, I preſume, was free to exerciſe his privilege where he pleaſed, and probably did it ſomewhere within the precincts of his monaſtery. Hence, then, I am clearly of opinion, that as this coin, and the next, give us the heads of their prelatical owners, be

(1) Regulation of king Athelſtan, given at large in the Eſſay.

they

they who they will, archbiſhops or abbots, they were ſtrucken before A. 928, and that the abbot, who was then unreſtrained as to the place of coinage, would never have put *Dorovernia Civitas* on his money.

We cannot preciſely ſay to which of our primates this penny belongs, but certainly it appertains to one of them, and not to any of our kings, as Sir Andrew Fountaine ſuppoſed.

II.

The 6th alſo of the *incertain claſs* in Sir Andrew Fountaine's IXth Table, is undoubtedly a prelatical coin, as Mr. Wiſe takes it likewiſe to be (1); and, for the ſame reaſons as the former, muſt be the property of one of the Kentiſh metropolitans, coined before A. D. 928. There is the prelate's effigies finiſhed in the inner circle, with a cap of a very particular make, and the legend + LVNINL MONETA. Sir Andrew reads it erroneouſly, LVNINL MONETA, and interprets it accordingly, *Moneta Regis*, eſteeming it thereby a regal coin, and adding, *ſed ad quem regem ſpectat me latet*. But for this there is no room, as the name is plainly LVNINL, in the drawing I have been favoured with by James Weſt, Eſq; (2), and in another ſpecimen at Devonſhire-Houſe. It conſequently can only mean to inform us that *Luning* was the mint-maſter. Reverſe has + DOROBERNIA LIVITAS in four lines acroſs the area. If the cap abovementioned was intended for a mitre, this will be a ſtrong argument againſt this piece's belonging to any abbot of St. Auguſtine, for the coin, we may aſſume, was fabricated before Athelſtan's ordinance of 928, after which no prelate might preſume to put his own effigies on the current coin (3), and yet theſe abbots were not dignified and honoured with the mitre till A. D. 1063, as we are expreſſly informed by Mr. Somner (4). However, I lay no ſtreſs upon this, becauſe the ornament reſembles more a cap than a mitre, and that the mitre, as was ſtated above (5), was not in vogue when this penny was coined.

(1) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 230. (2) See alſo Wiſe, Ibidem.
(3) See the Eſſay. (4) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. p. 28.
(5) See the 1ſt coin of Wulfred.

III.

III.

This number, from Mr. Weſt's cabinet, is a new coin, ſince though the obverſe be much the ſame, the inſcription on the reverſe is finiſhed in three lines, and is differently divided. It is the work of the ſame artiſt, and probably belongs to the ſame prelate with the former. It raiſes 20 grains.

IV.

This penny, the peculium of Mr. Duane, has the head in profile included, like No. 1, within an inner circle, with a plain cap or mitre, but not tied behind as in that piece; + SILESTEF ꝩONETA. Reverſe gives in three lines acroſs the area, with three dots or pallets above, and as many below, DOROBERNIA ꝖIVITAS. 'Tis difficult to aſcertain the reading of the firſt member of the maſter's name, and the termination is not very common amongſt the Saxons. And, yet I am perſuaded from the reverſe of a fine coin of Egbert's, in Mr. Duane's cabinet, whereon we read + SILESTEF, it is as given above, and that in all probability the coin ought to be referred to that reign. The weight is 21¼ grains.

V.

Upon the ſame footing with No. 1, ſtands this penny, from Mr. White's cabinet; the inſcription on the obverſe being SVVEFNERD MONETA, with a like head in profile, and the reverſe being only written a little more at large, and in three lines, DOROBERNIA ꝖIVITAS. This ſufficiently confirms the interpretation put upon ꝺR ꝂR ꝖITS, in No. 1. The weight is 22½ grains.

The coins hitherto, are all pennies, of various weights, and of ſilver; and, in fact, we don't know that the metropolitans of Canterbury ſtruck money in any other metal, or of any other denomination, till the reign of king Henry VII. As to halfpence and farthings, which after the Conqueſt were coined round and entire, the inferior mints, as we have reaſon to believe, were not permitted to meddle with them (1), at leaſt

(1) See the Eſſay, verſus finem.

not

not till the reign of king Henry VIII. The *ſticæ*, indeed, are ſmall pieces of braſs, eight to a penny, but then they are all of the Northumbrian kingdom, ſo far as is yet known, and Vigmund, or Wimund, the 12th archbiſhop of York, was the only prelate that, ſo far as now appears, ever made any of them. See the *Series of Diſſertations on the A—Saxon Remains*, where one of theſe pieces is engraved, and the Diſſertation there, No. V.

WILLIAM WARHAM.

ARchbiſhop Warham was a very reſpectable perſonage, though Wolſey, by his enterprizing genius, and his legatine power, got the aſcendant over him, and would but too often trample upon him. Warham revived the privilege of coining, after it had been dormant ſome ages, in reſpect of the ſee of Canterbury, in which he was inthroned A. D. 1504, in the reign of king Henry VII. and died A. 1532, in that of king Henry VIII.

I.

In Mr. Folkes's Tables, VII. No. 4, there is an half groat of Hen. VIII. with a clove or pomegranate for the mint mark. The reverſe bears the royal arms, with W on one ſide of them, and A on the other, which are underſtood to be the initial letters of William Archbiſhop, or rather *Willielmus Archiepiſcopus*.

II.

Another in the ſame plate, No. 17, has a croſs croſlet for the mint mark.

III.

In the ſupplement of plates publiſhed with Mr. Folkes's Tables, by the gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 1763, Quarto, there is a third, with the fleur de lis for the mint mark. Plate IV. No. 14.

IV.

In Mr. Folkes's VIIth Plate, No. 6. W. A. are placed *over* the ſhield of arms, and the mint mark is a martlet.

There are others of this archbiſhop's coins with no difference but the mint marks, and therefore they need not be regiſtred. But it may be proper to mention, that in the ſame plate, No. 11, there is a halfpenny of his with a full face. The half groats have all ſide faces, and are of the beſt money of Henry VIII. This we have engraved.

THOMAS CRANMER.

THIS great and good man, the firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop of Canterbury, was conſecrated A. 1533, and was burnt A. 1555, in Q. Mary's reign. And in Mr. Folkes's VIIth Plate, No. 20, there is a moſt curious half groat of king Henry VIII. ſtrucken by him, having T on one ſide the arms, and C on the other, which no doubt muſt mean Thomas Cranmer, or Thomas Cantuarienſis, as the coin was minted at Canterbury. A Catharine wheel is the mint mark, whence the gentlemen in their explanation conjecture, 'perhaps in compliment to queen Catharine Howard his friend, about 1541.'

In the ſame plate, No. 12, we have the obverſe of an halfpenny of Cranmer's, with T. C. placed in the ſame manner. This we have alſo engraved.

FINIS.

AN

ESSAY,

On the ORIGINE of the Metropolitical and other ſubordinate MINTS, the Progreſs and final Determination of them; with many other Particulars relative to the ancient Coinage of this Kingdom, both before and after the Norman Conqueſt.

THE Archbiſhops of Canterbury, Primates of All England, were formerly inveſted with many privileges, which, from various cauſes, have been long ſince diſcontinued and loſt. I enquire not here from what cauſes this has happened, neither perhaps is it much to be regretted, that in ſome inſtances, troubleſome and inſignificant to the metropolitans themſelves, and in others incompatible, as might be thought, with the general good of the realm, thoſe powers and pre-eminences have been aboliſhed or withdrawn.

However, it will always be matter of curioſity, and particularly ſo to all thoſe who are ſtudious of our Engliſh antiquities, to enquire into the nature of theſe ancient privileges; in what they might conſiſt, their extent, the hiſtory and various fortune of them, together with their final abolition. Truth is again, in all reſpects, and upon every ſubject, a matter of conſequence, and it will always import us to have a right idea and conception of things, though never ſo long diſuſed or grown obſolete. Both theſe conſiderations together, I hope, may apologize for the preſent diſcuſſion.

Our primates of Canterbury (the caſe of the archbiſhops of York, will be occaſionally conſidered in the courſe of our enquiries) were once poſſeſſed, amongſt their other prerogatives, of the noble and royal privilege of coining money, and did

certainly exerciſe it in a very ample manner, many of their pieces having actually come down to us, as will be apparent from the ſlighteſt inſpection of our plate; and yet both archbiſhop Parker (1), and Mr. Battely (2), though they profeſſedly treat and enlarge on the ſubject of their rights and prerogatives, have omitted. What I then propoſed to do in this attempt, was, to exhibit all the archiepiſcopal coins, that had been at preſent diſcovered, in one view, and to ſubjoin thereunto ſome neceſſary illuſtrations; and for that purpoſe, I not only had recourſe to the tables of our coins already engraved (3), but alſo to the private collections of my friends, who might be ſo obliging as to open their treaſures to me: And yet it muſt be obſerved, that great and well furniſhed cabinets will not afford ſometimes one ſingle ſpecimen that may fall into a ſeries ſo contracted as this. The event was, that the coins were in number 27, of which 13 now make their firſt appearance.

What I intend doing in this place, is, to conſider, for the further elucidation of the ſubject, the origine and hiſtory of the archiepiſcopal coinage, ſo far as I have been able to penetrate into it; a point, which, as I apprehend, has been very far from being generally well underſtood.

Now as ſome inferior prelates, biſhops and abbots, enjoyed the privilege of ſtriking money in the Saxon times (4), the metropolitan, *alterius orbis Apoſtolicus Patriarcha*, as he is ſtiled by the Pope himſelf (5), would certainly be inveſted with a power equal at leaſt, but probably a larger and more extenſive. And in fact, the metropolitans, anciently, did not only coin money, but did it in their own right, howſoever they came by it, placing both their names and effigies on the coins. They exerciſed an inherent, independent, regal right, at leaſt for ſome time, either by conceſſion, preſcription, uſurpation, or

(1) Archbiſhop Parker de Vetuſt. Eccl. Brit. p. 37. ſeq.
(2) Battely, Cantuar. Sacr. p. 43. 61. ſeq.
(3) Sir A. Fountaine's tables in Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus, the plates in Biſhop Gibſon's Camden, in Mr. Thoreſby's Muſeum, in the Numiſmata Comitis Pembrochiæ, and in Mr. Drake's Eboracum; the tables and plates publiſhed by the gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries, London, &c.
(4) See the ordinance of king Athelſtan, produced at length below.
(5) Capgrave Vit. Anſelmi. Confer. et Malmſb. p. 223.

ſome

ſome other mode of derivation, into which we are here to enquire.

Mr. Selden ſeems to think the power of coining accrued to the archbiſhops of Canterbury of *common right*, as lords of the city of Canterbury. 'Et pecuniæ cudendæ jus,' ſays he, 'quod majeſtatis meritò conſetur, *Archiepiſcopo ut urbis domino 'tunc temporis (ita videtur) competebat*; uti forſan aliis oppi-'dorum celebriorum, quæ *Burgos* vocamus, aut civitatum ſive 'dominis ſive decurionibus (1).' But with ſubmiſſion to this very learned man, we don't find that the lords or provoſts of towns and cities were endowed with this privilege, *as ſuch*; and therefore one has reaſon to think, the right of our metropolitans muſt ſpring from ſome other ſource. As to the aſſertion, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was in theſe ages *Lord of that City*, I am well aware that archbiſhop Parker concurs with Mr. Selden in it; for he declares, 'hanc [urbem] Can-'tuariam] muro cinctam Auguſtino Ethelbertus *cum regalibus 'juribus privilegiiſq*; donavit; ipſe vero *Raculver* ſeceſſit, ibiq; 'palatium ſibi ſtatuit (2).' The archbiſhop is ſuppoſed to ſay this on the authority of king Ethelbert's charter, ſo Mr. Somner intimates (3), but that charter is itſelf of moſt doubtful and ſuſpicious credit (4). But be that as it will, he certainly affirms a great deal too much, ſince, according to William Thorne, a monk of St. Auguſtine's, and an author who would by no means be backward in aggrandizing the donation of king Ethelbert to his hero and favourite ſaint; I ſay, according to Thorne, all that Ethelbert, conferred upon Auguſtine was his palace at Canterbury, for a place of reſidence, with the manor or borough of *Stablegate* thereunto adjoining, as an uſeful and neceſſary appendage. 'Et conceſſit [Ethelbertus] eis [Auguſtino 'et ſociis] *locum habitationis* in civitate Doroberniæ ſituatum, 'videlicet parochia Sancti Aelphagi ex oppoſito regiæ ſtratæ 'verſus Aquilonem, per quam murus Palatii Archiepiſcopalis 'in longitudine ſe extendit, in quo Auguſtinus cum ſuis do-'meſticis uſque ad converſionem regis hoſpitatus eſt (5),' where

(1) Selden Spicileg. ad Eadmerum, p. 217.
(2) Archbiſhop Parker, de Vetuſt. Eccl. Brit. p. 51.
(3) Somner, p. 4, and ſee p. 82. (4) Idem, ibid.
(5) Gul. Thorne, inter x ſcriptores, Col. 1759. See alſo Beda, p. 61, 62.

there

there is not a word ſaid of the king's beſtowing upon him the fee and juriſdiction of the *whole city*. But you will ſay, might not the king's grant be enlarged after his converſion? I anſwer, though there was another grant, yet it reſpected the king's palace only, and not the entire city; for Thorne's words on this ſecond occaſion, are, 'dedit idem Rex *Palatium ſuum regium* 'infra civitatem [Cantuarienſem] Auguſtino et ſucceſſoribus 'ſuis, ut ibi haberent ſedem metropolitanam impertetuum, &c.' (1) where the royal munificence, you obſerve, is entirely confined to the palace ſtill (2), which he now gives in perpetuity, to him and his ſucceſſors. To be ſhort, if the Saxonic archbiſhops, of whom we are here ſpeaking, enjoyed the lordſhip or dominion of the city of Canterbury, it muſt have been by *meer curteſy*, as Mr. Camden expreſſes it from an old regiſter of St. Auguſtine's (3); for William Rufus was the firſt king that gave the city to the archbiſhops (4); which agrees perfectly with the account of the ſtate of things at Canterbury, given us in Domeſday Book, where the city appears plainly to have been the Conqueror's own, as before it had belonged to Edward the Confeſſor (5).

So again, the lords, the provoſts, or portreves of cities and towns, do not appear to us to have enjoyed the privilege of mints in their own right. Sir Andrew Fountaine indeed declares, 'Iſtis nimirum ſeculis multis epiſcopis et *proceribus* jus 'conceſſum erat cudendi nummos (6).' And ſo in France, the *Comes*, or Count, ſeems to have had ſuch privilege under the ſecond race (7); but ſtill we have no written evidence of any ſuch indulgence granted to the ealdormen in this iſland. I know of but one piece amongſt the Saxon coins, that can be ſuppoſed to give any countenance to ſuch a notion; it is a ſtica of *Edilhelm*, with *Broder* on the reverſe; whereupon Mr. Thoreſby, whoſe coin it was, comments thus, 'Neither of theſe 'names are met with in the moſt accurate liſt now remaining 'of the kings of *Northumberland*. *Ethelhelm*, I ſuppoſe, was

(1) Gul. Thorne, inter x ſcriptores, Col. 1760.
(2) This was not what is now called the palace; for ſee Somner, p. 101.
(3) Camden, Brit. Col. 239. (4) Ibidem; et Somner, p. 178.
(5) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. in Append. No. 1.
(6) Sir Andrew Fountaine, p. 174. (7) Le Blanc, p. 114. alibi.

Sub-

'*Subregulus*, or underꝛ-cyning, (as the nobleman is ſtiled in the '*Saxon* verſion of St. *John* iv. 46.) in the confuſion it was re-'duced to its declining ſtate (1).' 'Tis ſtrange we ſhould hear nothing of this great man from any other quarter; and yet there ſeems to be no other way for accounting for the appearance of his name upon this piece. Wherefore I conceive that the act of this perſon, whoever he was, was all uſurpation, and not the effect of a legal grant. The *ſticæ* all in general belong to the kingdom of Northumberland, and *Ethelhelm* lived probably in the 8th or 9th century, as *Broder* his officer, who likewiſe wrought for king Eanred (2), flouriſhed at that time. But what can we infer, in regard to general practice, from one ſingle ſpecimen minted in times of the utmoſt diſtraction? How naturally would incroachments and uſurpations grow in a time of anarchy, when both king and kingdom were in ſuch a weak and defenceleſs ſtate as to be obliged to ſubmit to Egbert of Weſſex, without ſtriking a blow (3)? And therefore the buſineſs of the mints, in this wretched kingdom, would then probably be in much ſuch a ſituation as it was in the tumultuous reign of king Stephen, when the nobles in general, as it is remarked by our hiſtorians (4), uſurped the regal privilege of coining money. In better and more peaceable times, things were upon a different footing, inſomuch that we have no ſpecie of any of the great Saxon earls, Ethelred earl of Mercia, Godwin earl of Kent, &c. who, as they flouriſhed in ſettled and more orderly reigns, never preſumed to intrench upon the prerogative royal in this reſpect.

The reſult is, that neither prelates nor nobles coined money of common right, or in regard of their cities, towns and boroughs, but acquired the uſage and cuſtom by ſome other means, which we are here to inveſtigate.

To judge from the preſent ſtate and appearance of things, as repreſented in the Plate and Commentary; and we have no rule more authentic, perhaps, no other, to go by. Athelard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſeems to have been of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit, was the firſt of our pontifs that adven-

(1) Thoreſby, Muſeum, p. 342. (2) Ibid. p. 341. (3) Rapin, p. 641.
(4) M. Pariſ. p. 86. Hoveden, p. 490. Gul. Neubrig. whoſe words will be adduced below.

tured,

tured, in the low and diſtreſsful ſtate of the Kentiſh kingdom, and under the ſanction and auſpices of a powerful foreign potentate, to put his own name upon the money which he coined. He advanced, however, no further; nay, he was ſo moderate and cautious in his novel attempt, bold as it was, as to acknowledge the authority under which he acted, by placing the names of his great friends and patrons, king Offa and king Kenulph, on his pennies.

Some perhaps may incline to think that Athelard might have a written grant or charter for the purpoſe from king Offa; and Offa certainly appears to have been very liberal in his indulgences this way; for in Sir Andrew Fountaine's IIId Table we have two coins of his queen's, with her name and head, the only lady, in all the regal Saxon lines, of whom we have any remains of this kind. To theſe gentlemen, it would not ſeem improbable, that this king might alſo dignify his own archbiſhop, Aldulf, of Lichfield, with the ſame favor that he conferred on Athelard.

But ſtill as none of theſe grants or charters are in being, and we have no evidence that ever they did exiſt, the ſafeſt way ſeems to be, to ſtate it as above, that Athelard was the firſt metropolitan known, that placed his name upon a coin. And there appears to be a valid reaſon for the poſition, from the hiſtory and origine of the Saxon coinage in general, which, as the digreſſion is not impertinent, I will here beg leave to introduce.

It is difficult to ſay when the Saxons firſt began to coin money; I am fully perſuaded, that when Hengiſt and his aſſociates arrived here, in the 5th century, they had no acquaintance with the art of coining, as having but a ſlender knowledge of the uſe of money. They were a brave and warlike people, but poor, ignorant, and illiterate, as pirates may reaſonably be thought to be in that age (1). When they were

(1) I think it probable, they could neither write nor read, as before chriſtianity was planted there, little uſe of letters was made in the North *. However, I ſhall not trouble the reader with my reaſons for this ſuppoſition here, as it would carry me too far out of the way. But it is obvious to remark, that if they were really in that *illiterate* ſituation, they muſt have been utterly diſqualified for coining of money.

* Monſ. Mallet, p. 53. of Engl. Tranſl.

invited

invited hither by the Britons, plunder and ſubſiſtence was what they externally aimed at, though perhaps their more private and concealed view was, a durable ſettlement in the iſland; a motive fully eſtabliſhed and well illuſtrated by Monſieur Mallet (1).

The account Witichindus gives of the propoſals or overtures made by the Britons, when they ſent to the Saxons for their aſſiſtance againſt the Picts and Scots, is ſtrong againſt their offering to them the lure of pay. His words are, 'Terram 'latam et ſpetioſam et omnium rerum copiâ refertam, veſtræ 'mendant ditioni parere. Sub Romanorum hactenus clientela 'ac tutela hactenus liberaliter viximus: poſt Romanos vobis 'meliores ignoramus: ideo ſub veſtræ virtutis alas fugere quæ-'rimus. Veſtra virtute, veſtris armis, hoſtibus tandem ſupe-'riores inveniamur, et quicquid imponitis ſervitii libenter ſu-'ſtinemus (2).' The Saxons, according to this author, were not addreſſed or tempted with any pecuniary promiſes as mercenaries, but were intreated, as a martial people, to take the poor harraſſed Britons under their protection in the ſame manner as the Romans had done. And in anſwer to the meſſage, the Saxons make no contract or ſtipulation in reſpect of pay, but only engage to aſſiſt the Britons, who, as is natural to ſuppoſe, were to find the magazines upon their arrival, and to ſubſiſt them. And ſo Rollo and his crew, when they invaded France, long after this period, had no ſuch thing as pay amongſt them, but made war in the ſame manner. 'Les 'Voiſſeaux,' ſays Pere Daniel, 'ne contient rien en ce païs-la, 'et la ſeule eſpérance du Butin eſſoit toute la ſolde dont on 'payoit les ſoldats et les marelots (3).' This indeed was the general uſage amongſt the nations in Germany. For though the convenience of money in common life is found by experience to be ſo great and extenſive, that one is apt to wonder how any people can poſſibly ſubſiſt without it, yet we learn from our printed accounts, that there are an hundred nations upon the face of this globe of earth, that make a tolerable

(1) Mallet, North. Antiq. p. 228. This was the caſe of Rollo in Neuſtria. Ibid. p. 262. ſeq. and of Ingulph in Iceland, p. 269. ſeq.
(2) Witichindus Monach. Annal. lib. i, p. 630. Edit. Meibomii.
(3) Pere Daniel, tom. ii. p. 215.

ſhift to live by barter and exchange. Tacitus expreſly writes of the Germans, that when they went to war, it was not for pay, but booty: 'Nam Epulæ, et quanquam incompti, largi 'tamen apparatus, pro ſtipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiæ 'per bella et raptus (1).' And again, after telling us that their cattle was their only wealth, he proceeds, 'Argentum et 'aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen 'affirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve 'gignere, quis enim ſcrutatus eſt? Poſſeſſione et uſu haud 'perinde afficiuntur. Eſt videre apud illos argentea vaſa, Le-'gatus et Principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate 'quam quæ humo finguntur: quanquam *proximi* ob uſum 'commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formaſq; 'quaſdam noſtræ pecuniæ agnoſcunt, atque eligunt: *Interiores* 'ſimplicius et antiquius præmutatione Mercium utuntur. Pe-'cuniam probant veterem et diu notam, ſerratos, bigatoſq; 'argentum quoque magis quam aurum ſequuntur, nulla affec-'tione animi, ſed quia numerus argenteorum facilior uſui eſt 'promiſcua ac vilia mercantibus (2).' Thoſe, he ſays, that lived on the confines of the Roman empire like money, both gold and ſilver, for the convenience of traffick, and are well acquainted with, and will chuſe ſome of, our money; but they who live further in the country perſiſt in the more ſimple and ancient way of bartering. Not a word, you obſerve, is dropped, of the Germans having any coined money of their own. Amongſt thoſe remote Germans no doubt were our Saxons, who had no other method of trading but by exchange, as is the caſe with the like uncivilized nations at this day; and I cannot learn that the Saxons had any coined money amongſt them for ſeveral ages next following; the Franks had none when they firſt paſſed the Rhine (3). Perhaps the Saxons, after they had poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the Roman empire, as they ſeem to have done before they were invited into Britain, might make ſome ſmall uſe of the Roman coin, but

(1) Tacitus de Morib. Germ. p. 545. or c. 14. See Mallet, p. 234.
(2) Tacitus, ibid. p. 541.
(3) Greg. Turon. V. 1. In the tomb of Childeric, diſcovered A. 1653, there was found no money of his own, though various other jewels. P. Daniel, Pref. p. LXXXI.

at

at that period of time, they were infinitely too unſettled in their way of life to cultivate to any purpoſe the arts of peace amongſt themſelves, or to bend their minds towards any civil improvements, ſuch as the minting of money. I am aware that Biſhop Stillingfleet (1), Dr. Brady (2), and other great names, are againſt me on this head, and are of opinion the Saxons were *mere mercenaries ſerving for pay*, but when we reflect that Hengiſt was immediately upon his landing put in poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Thanet, the repreſentation of Witichindus may be thought the moſt plauſible; they cite a paſſage from Bede, and another from Gildas, in favour of their opinion, but neither of them, ſo far as I can judge, come up to the point; for the *Epimenia* of Gildas (3), and the *Annonæ* of Bede (4), do not neceſſarily imply a pecuniary ſtipend, but only an allowance of edibles in order to ſubſiſtence. And indeed when we conſider the motives this people had in reſpect of themſelves, for undertaking this, as well as ſome of their other expeditions, viz. the poverty of their country, and its being overſtocked with inhabitants (5), an advantageous ſettlement in a better country would be a ſufficient inducement to them, without any view to wages paid in money, an article, which, as we think, they had but little acquaintance with.

If the Saxons, on their arrival, did not underſtand the art of making money, they were not likely to learn it from the Britons, who were as ignorant in it as they. The Romans quitted Britain finally about A. 418, or as others ſay, A. 427. (6) at which time, they either hid, or carried away with them, a great deal of treaſure; for ſo the Saxon Chron. A. 418. Hep Romane ȝeȝomnodon eal þ ȝoldhoꝛd þe on Bryten̄e pæꝛon. ⁊ ſume on eoꝛðan aþẏ̈ðdon. þ hẏ nænig mon ſiðdan ſindan ne meaȝte. ⁊ ſume mid him on Gallia læddon. *At this time the Romans gathered together all the treaſure which could be found in Britain, and ſome they hid in the earth, ſo that no body could ever find it afterwards, and the reſt they carried away with them into Gaul.* By ȝoldhoꝛd here I underſtand money in general, as Mr. Hearne does (7), and for

(1) Stillingfleet, Antiq. of Brit. Churches, p. 320. (2) Brady, p. 94, 95.
(3) Gildæ Hiſtoria, p. 16. Edit. Gale.
(4) Beda, I. 15. where by *Annonæ* is clearly meant *Alimentorum Copia.*
(5) Dr. Brady, p. 94. (6) Rapin, p. 24.
(7) Hearne, Pref. to Antiq. of Glaſtonbury, p. 29.

the truth of this fact in the groſs we may appeal to various authors, who have given us inſtances of Roman coins hidden in this manner, and of later years diſcovered; nay, the like diſcoveries are even now daily made. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Roman ſpecie was on this occaſion *entirely* buried and carried off; this people did all they could to impoveriſh the iſland upon their departure, that the enemy, the Picts and Scots, might not enrich himſelf with its ſpoils, but no doubt there would ſtill remain ſome portion, ſome ſpecimens, of Roman money in Britain, which the inhabitants would naturally continue to uſe. The ſtock, probably, would not be large; however, there muſt in reaſon be *ſome* in the hands of the natives. Beſides, the communication with Gaul was ſtill kept open, and probably ſome ſmall quantity of money might be imported from thence. And whereas a peace was afterwards concluded between the Britons and Scots, whereby the former were to pay the latter a ſum of money, the payment was either made by weight, or in ſpecie accruing from theſe two ſources, the money left behind by the Romans, and what the Britons acquired by their commerce with Gaul.

Now as the retiring Romans choſe to leave ſo little ſpecie behind them, the preſumption is, that they took away with them all their implements of coining, and their mint-maſters, inſomuch that the whole buſineſs of making money here was abſolutely at an end. The Britons could not poſſibly be verſed in it, for whilſt the Romans maintained their empire amongſt them, they were not permitted to coin, this being a prerogative which that polite people always reſerved to themſelves. The teſtimony of Gildas in reſpect of the Britons, after the Romans had once ſubdued them, is very clear and ſtrong: 'Ita ut non Britannia ſed Romana inſula conſeretur, et quic-'quid habere potuiſſet ævis, argenti, vel auri, imagine Cæſaris 'notaretur (1).'

Gentlemen, I obſerve, are diſpoſed to expreſs their wonder, that we have no coins remaining of the Britiſh princes that flouriſhed here after the Romans left the iſland. That we ſhould meet with no coins, for example, of Vortigern, Vorti-

(1) Gildas, Hiſt. p. 11. See the Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 20.

mer,

mer, Ambroſius Aurelianus, and thoſe other princes whoſe reigns were concurrent with the Saxon heptarchy. But the reaſon of this, methinks, is ſufficiently apparent. The Romans had taken the mints into their own hands, exerciſing them *excluſively* whilſt they continued here, and when they withdrew carried the art of coining away with them: By which means, the Britiſh kings that ſucceeded them, never had it in their power to ſtrike money; they had neither implements for the purpoſe, nor ſkill, but were obliged to content themſelves with the ſlender remains of the Roman circulation that happened to be left amongſt them. Mr. Speed indeed has complimented Uter Pendragon with a ſingle piece, and as I do not at preſent recollect to have ſeen it any where diſproved, and it is ſo pertinent to the ſubject here under conſideration, I ſhall take the liberty of beſtowing a few words upon it. The piece was formerly a part of the Cotton cabinet, but is now ſecreted; and what led Mr. Speed, as I judge, to confer it upon Pendragon, was an appearance of ſimilitude, as he thought, between the name, and the legend of the coin, + PAENDRAED MVNITA REX. Reverſe, PENDRED. But now I obſerve, firſt, that this ſuppoſed ſimilarity is very inconſiderable, the laſt letter of the name being D and not G, which, though it may in appearance be a very trifling particular, yet it alters the caſe extremely, as the name then will be Pendraed, and not Pendraeg. Secondly, Pendragon was not this prince's proper name, for that was *Uter*, of which there are not the leaſt traces upon the coin; Pendragon was only a title of office or dignity, as we are ſufficiently taught both by Mr. Baxter (1) and Mr. Wiſe (2). Quære then, thirdly, to what ſeries this ancient and difficult piece belongs? To no other, in my judgment, than the Saxon, being minted, as I take it, in the 10th century, when the Saxons coined ſome little gold, of which metal it ſeems this piece was. The opinion I ſhall now briefly ſupport, REX, ſtands immediately under the king's head, independently on the reſt of the legend (3); and is intended to inſinuate, that it is a regal, and not a prelatical coin; the epi-

(1) Baxter, Gloſſ. in voce.
(2) Mr. Wiſe's letter to Dr. Mead, on Antiq. of Berkſhire, p. 46.
(3) Camd. I Tab. of Brit. Coins, No. 10.

graphe

graphe then will be, + PAENDRÆED MVNITÆrius. Reverſe, PENDRED. Now it is no uncommon thing to ſee the minter's name on a coin without the king's or the prelate's, by whoſe authority the piece was ſtruck (1). His name alſo occurs ſometimes on both ſides the coin, as here (2); and it is not without example that the name is differently written on the ſame coin (3), ſo unſettled were our anceſtors at that time in their orthography. As for V in MVNITÆrius, the 5th vowel is perpetually put for the 4th (4); and in the preſent caſe not improperly, becauſe of the Saxon mŷnet and mŷnetere, and accordingly we actually find it ſo written on a coin of Sihtric, king of Northumberland (5). There are a thouſand inſtances of the permutation of theſe two vowels, as likewiſe of the counterchanging of E and I, ſo that I need not inſiſt any longer on theſe particulars.

To return to the ſubject; the rude and unpoliſhed Saxons received a good ſhare of improvement and cultivation, no doubt, from their intimacy and converſe with their hoſts the Britons, but in no article leſs, than in the performances and productions of the mint, which thoſe preceptors were incapable of teaching them. Hengiſt, it is thought, arrived A. 449, when the art of coining was here in a manner unknown, when there was no example of it, no encouragement to it, no means ſuitable for the attempt, and, to ſay all in one word, little or no occaſion for it. Their caſe was widely different, in this, from that of the Franks in Gaul, who, upon their paſſing the Rhine under Clovis, A. 486, and ſeizing upon the city of *Treves*, where the Romans had a very prolific mint, might fall upon making money very early. 'Ils purent meſme ſe ſervir 'de leurs ouvriers et de leurs machines, &c.' 'The Francs,' ſays Monſieur Le Blanc, 'might even make uſe of the Roman

(1) Lord Pembroke, Part IV. Tab. 23. Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. IX. Num. incerta, No. 5.

(2) Sir A. Fount. loc. cit. Camden, Sax. Coins, I. No. 32.

(3) Camd. Sax. Coins, I. No. 32. The coin of Aldulf, in Speed, p. 262.

(4) Hence Bede and the Itinerary Londonia and Londinium, whilſt the Sax. Chron. has Lundene, Lundone, &c. The coins have it Eboracum, but the Itinerary Eburacum. Dr. Gale's Comment. p. 19. Drake's Eboracum, p. 6. So Victuria for Victoria is common. Speed, p. 262. Lord Pembr. Part I. Tab. 33. No. 59.

(5) Lord Pembr. Part IV. Tab. I.

'work-

'workmen and tools, after they had once poſſeſſed themſelves, upon their entrance into Gaul, of the city of 'Treves, where the Romans had a mint, as well as at Lyons 'and at Arles. Agathias, who wrote at the beginning of this 'firſt race, [the Merovingian line of the French kings] gives 'ſome countenance to this remark, when he ſays that the 'Franks borrowed many things from the Romans (1).' In all probability it would be a century, perhaps two, before the Saxons attempted to coin. The new-comers had, doubtleſs, enough to do, for ſome time, in ſubduing their late friends, but now enemies, the Britons; in eſtabliſhing themſelves in their acquiſitions and conqueſts, and the like important employments; and there was the leſs occaſion for them to turn their thoughts upon a mint, as there was ſome ſpecie ſtill remaining in the iſland, and probably ſufficient for the little uſe they had for it at firſt. But let us in the next place contemplate matters of fact in theſe times, to ſee how they correſpond with this repreſentation. Ethelbert, king of Kent, who was upon the throne A. 596, when Auguſtine the monk arrived there, preſented him with *no money* that we hear of, and probably was himſelf poſſeſſed of very little, as the royal revenues were then paid in a very different form. And we are told that Oſwald, king of Northumberland, who began his reign A. 634, had ſo little ſpecie, that he ordered a ſilver diſh to be broken into pieces and diſtributed in alms to the poor (2). Should we, as is moſt natural, appeal in the next place to the coins, we have not a ſingle penny older than Æthelweard king of Weſſex, who acceded A. 727 or 728. Pretenſions indeed run higher, and many of our Antiquaries are impreſſed with a different opinion, Mr. Speed, Mr. Walker, Sir A. Fountaine, Mr. Thwaites, and Mr. Thoreſby; nay, one gentleman in converſation very confidently averred he had a penny of Hengiſt; what pity it was, he had not another of Horſa, to keep it company! But notwithſtanding the dead weight of all this authority, our preſent Saxon ſeries commences no ſooner than Æthelweard of Weſſex. The coins that claim a higher date, are one of Aldulf, which we have totally diſcarded (3); a

(1) M. Le Blanc, p. 38. (2) Bede, p. 109. (3) See coins of Archbp. Plegmund.

penny

penny of St. Edwin of Northumberland reduced to the age of another ſaint, Edward the Confeſſor (1); two which Speed beſtows on the Eaſt-Saxons Sighard and Offa; the former of whom died A. 694, and the latter A. 709; and a fifth which ſome are diſpoſed to confer upon Ælfred king of Northumberland, who departed this life A. 705 (2). Now as to the three laſt, Sighard's piece belongs either to Sigeferth, who ſlew himſelf A. 961 (3), or, as I rather think, to St. Edmundſbury (4). Offa was not king of Eſſex but of Mercia, for Lulla, or Lul, was a mint-maſter of the Mercian Offa, and of Coenulf his ſucceſſor (5). And Ælfred's penny was not the property of the king of Northumberland, as will be ſhewn in a particular diſſertation hereunto annexed, but of Ælfred the Great.

Now when theſe pieces are partly rejected, and partly reduced to their juſt and proper dates, we may reaſonably allege and inſiſt, that nobody has yet ſeen any money of thoſe illuſtrious princes of the weſtern kingdom, Keaulin, Cedwalla, nor even of Ina, the predeceſſor of Æthelweard. The late lord Rolle, of Stevenſton, was ſo obliging as to make very ſtrict enquiry, at my requeſt, after the coins of Ina, in the weſtern parts, but without ſucceſs. I don't mean, however, to aſſert, that no Saxon money was coined before A. D. 728, all I contend for being, that the Saxons did not ſtrike money till long after their arrival here, and that the oldeſt penny *now extant* does not exceed that date. Time may perhaps produce ſomething hereafter more venerable and antique, but at preſent this ſeries riſes no higher. An eminent Antiquary indeed, in a late elegant and elaborate performance, has declared, very unfavourable to the ſyſtem and notion here advanced, 'Nummorum 'aliquod genus, tum ante, tum poſt eorum in Britanniam ap-'pulſum, Saxones et Angli haberent oportet.' However, he has afterwards qualified his aſſertion, by ſaying, 'Sin objiciat 'nonnemo gentes iſtas barbaras aliena moneta, non propria,

(1) See coins of archbiſhop Plegmund; and the 2d of the annexed diſſertations.

(2) I mention not here the penny of Eanred, which in Speed, by the miſtake I ſuppoſe of the Printer, is given to Redowald, who aſcended the throne of Eaſt Anglia A. 599.

(3) Chron. Sax. (4) See coins of St. Edmundſbury, below.

(5) Sir Andrew Fountaine, IX. No. 8. IV. No. 1.

'uſos

'uſos eſſe, vel viliora metalla iis pro nummis fuiſſe; nil habeo 'quod reſpondeam; in re obſcuriſſima liberum eſto unicuique 'judicium (1),' which very nearly approaches to our ſentiments, that what money the Saxons had at firſt, was not of their own, but of foreign fabrication. I aſſume then,

That from the time of Æthelweard, the Weſt Saxon heptarchy, who acceded A. 727 or 728, the Saxons coined money, but how long they did it before is yet uncertain, perhaps not more than a century; Ethelbert of Kent took the crown A. 560, and Auguſtine the monk arrived in his reign, A. 596, but at that juncture the monarch does not appear to have had any money; Auguſtine, however, and his companions, probably brought ſome pieces with them from Rome. Yet I cannot think theſe prelates, for ſuch they afterwards became, were inſtrumental in teaching the art of coinage, as they were employed in affairs of totally a different nature.

The origine of the mint then amongſt the Saxons is inveloped in obſcurity, *Caput inter nubila condit*, juſt as the *initia* of many other noble arts and inventions are. Whence this people took it up, whether from the Roman model, as Mr. Clarke contends, or from elſewhere, as others think, is a point I am not here concerned with: This, however, ſeems probable, that when the *reguli* of the heptarchy firſt begun it, they reſerved the practice entirely to themſelves, and continued to do ſo till the reign of king Offa, under whoſe auſpices, and during the diſtractions of the Kentiſh kingdom, archbiſhop Athelard, as was before ſtated, either voluntarily and of himſelf aſſumed the privilege of coining, or had a grant and licenſe for that purpoſe from Offa.

Now Wulfred, Athelard's ſucceſſor, was even under leſs controul than he had been, in reſpect of his immediate ſovereign; for Baldred, his prince, had retired, after he had been vanquiſhed by Egbert the Weſt Saxon, into Mercia (2). He therefore took a large ſtride, and fairly coined money in his own right, taking not the leaſt notice of his lawful prince, but placing his own name and effigies upon it; which certainly was going as far as majeſty itſelf could do. The caſe ſeems to

(1) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. Catalog. p. 228. (2) Rapin, p. 63.

have been, that the predominant power of Kenulph king of Mercia had reduced the Kentiſh kingdom to the laſt extremity, and if Cuthred and Baldred, kings of Kent, coined money afterwards, as in fact they did, it was by the connivance of Kenulf, whoſe tributaries they were. Wulfred, we may imagine, was at this juncture very great and powerful, as, by the pains and dexterity of his predeceſſor, the archbiſhoprick of Lichfield had been reunited to his church. He might think himſelf upon a *par* with petty ſovereigns, who were as much, and perhaps more, dependant on the will of others as himſelf; for why? he had the Pope to ſupport him; and therefore might not think it improper, however not unpardonable, to place his effigies on the coin, in the manner they did. 'Tis true, one cannot commend his conduct, which appears to have been raſh and preſumptuous, and was even diſproved ſoon after, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel; and yet it would be uncandid to cenſure him ſeverely for it, as his error, his crime, in incroaching on the prerogative royal, ſeems to be greatly extenuated by the particular circumſtances, and the turbulency of the times.

In this ſtate matters ſeem to have continued till archbiſhop Plegmund's time, who was advanced to the pall A. 889, and appears for ſome reaſons, now not known, perhaps on receiving ſome check from his prince, Edward the Elder, who at this ſeaſon was become powerful, and very attentive to the interior police of the kingdom, to have omitted putting his effigies on his ſpecie; but to have perſiſted, nevertheleſs, in ſtriking money in his own name, and in his own right, for he never takes the leaſt notice of his ſovereigns, Ælfred and Edward, on his coins. But now if Plegmund was reſtrained by his ſovereign from placing his buſt on his coins, we cannot expect to behold the buſt of any other prelate on the metropolitical ſpecie, but thoſe of Wulfred and of Ceolnoth; 'tis certain that at preſent we don't ſee any other.

May we not conclude from hence, to wit, from the abſence of Plegmund's effigies on his coins, that our *Incerta Numiſmata* muſt neceſſarily be older than his time? May not alſo the reſtraint upon Plegmund in regard of his effigies, ſuppoſing it to be fact, be conſtrued as a previous and preparative ſtep towards

towards the grand revolution brought about in the next reign?

Theſe aſſertions and conjectures, call them as you will, are, I confeſs, bold and hazardous enough, conſidering the few *data* we have to proceed upon; and certainly it were much to be wiſhed we had a greater number of pennies publiſhed of every pontif, either to falſify or confirm them. As it is, I don't ſee how one can determine and ſpeak otherwiſe than as above. Time perhaps may inſtruct us better, by making new and further diſcoveries. I ſay this, to make gentlemen collectors more alert, aſſiduous and inquiſitive.

In the next reign, which was that of the imperial Athelſtan, who was abſolutely governor of all England, and aſſumed the ſtile and title of *Totius Britanniæ Rex*, and even placed it upon his money (1). The coinage of the Saxon kingdom underwent, very early, a moſt material and eſſential regulation. This great prince, who acceded A. 925, took the prerogative of coining money entirely into his own hands, and actually put an end to all the foregoing innovations, hurtful to the ſtate, and injurious to the dignity of his crown.

'Tis obſervable, in confirmation of what is here alleged, that no metropolitical coin has ever been ſeen, with an archbiſhop's name or effigies, poſterior to the reign of this prince, in the Saxon times.

But as Athelſtan's regulation of the year 928 (2), here alluded to, is ſo deciſive in the matter, and ſo very important, it may be proper to introduce it here at length, in Dr. Wilkins's Latin verſion (3), accompanied with ſome proper reflections by way of commentary.

'Statuimus ut una moneta ſit per omnem regis ditionem, 'et nemo monetam cudat extra portam. . . . .

'In Cantuaria ſint vii monetarii; quatuor Regis, duo Epiſ'copi, et unus Abbatis.

'In Roffenſi Civitate tres, duo Regis, et unus Epiſcopi.

'Londini viii.

'Wintoniæ vi.

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. II. Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 345.
(2) Wilkins, Concilia, I. p. 205.
(3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 59. or his Concilia, I. p. 206.

'In Lewifió ii.
'In urbe Haſtingio (1) unus
'Alius Ciceſtriæ (2).
'Hamtoniæ duo (3).
'Werhamiæ ii (4).
'Duo Exoniæ.
'ii Schafteſburie (5).
'Alias in aliis Caſtellis unus (6)."

Much inconvenience, no doubt, had been found, from ſuffering different coins to paſs amongſt the king's ſubjects. They were not only diſſimilar, but often of doubtful authority, and conſequently liable to be refuſed in payments; they might be of a baſe allay, or at leaſt of a ſuſpicious goodneſs and purity, or ſcandalouſly deficient in weight; upon which conſiderations this wiſe king ordains here, that there ſhould be but *one uniform* ſpecies of coin current in his dominions, to the utter excluſion of the prelates from coining any money of their own, or in their own right, as aforetime had been done, to the great diminution of his crown and dignity. This was an abridgment of uſage, 'tis true, in reſpect of the prelates, but no injuſtice; it was only reſtoring matters to their primitive ſtate, and therefore they could not in reaſon, and probably did not, object to it. They were not deprived by this ordinance of the priviledge of ſtriking money miniſterially, by the king's authority, and for his uſe and ſervice, as is evident from what follows in the regulation, but only were debarred from doing it for themſelves, and in their own names. The profits of the mints were conſiderable, and theſe they were permitted ſtill to enjoy, but as Sir Matthew Hales repreſents it, 'had neither the de-'nomination, ſtamp, nor allay (7).'

This now ſufficiently accounts for the non-appearance of any coins with an archiepiſcopal effigy, after the reign of king Athelſtan; and to go one ſtep further, may we not pronounce, that none of the kind will ever be found hereafter? And may

(1) Haſtingeceſtra. Brompton, inter X Script. Col. 843, et puto recte.
(2, 3, 4.) Theſe places are all omitted in Brompton.
(5) Schaftſbury. Brompton. quod rectius.
(6) *Et in aliis Burgis.* Brompton adds.
(7) Sir Matthew Hales, Sherifs Accounts.

we not infer, from the premiſes, that no coins with an archiepiſcopal effigies are to be expected, but of Wulfred, Ceolnoth, and Athelred (1), perhaps of Plegmund? in which ſhort liſt Fleogild and Suired, or Syred, are omitted, on account of their dying ſo ſoon after their election; and laſtly, that if any coins of Athelm and Wlfhelm, the ſucceſſors of Plegmund, ſhould ever make their appearance, they will not exhibit the portraits, but the names only, of thoſe prelates? Theſe are no more than reaſonable preſumptions; eſpecially as we are certain, that our primates never recovered their claim to the coining of money for themſelves and with their own effigies; this ordinance of Athelſtan, injoining an uniformity of ſpecie throughout the kingdom, being renew'd by king Edgar (2), by the council of Ænham, A. 1009, in the reign of king Æthelred (3), and by king Cnut (4). So in the *Concordia* or agreement between king Stephen and Henry duke of Normandy, afterwards king Henry II. A. 1153, it was ſtipulated, 'Et publica moneta '*una et eadem* erit in regno ex argento percuſſa (5).' And Hoveden writes of Henry II. that in the ſecond year of his reign, 'Novam fecit monetam quæ *ſola* recepta erat, et ac-'cepta in regno (6).' I ſhould ſuppoſe, to note this by the way, that the abbots of St. Auguſtine had, in like manner, their proper coins, as well as the archbiſhops, and probably with their own effigies, before the year 928; I am not aware, indeed, that any ſuch pennies of their's have yet been diſcovered (7); however, one may venture to foretel, that, if any ſhould hereafter be found, they will prove to be coins of abbots older than that date, and probably older than the time of archbiſhop Plegmund.

The next ſeaſonable and judicious regulation in this law, is the king's prohibition, that no one ſhould coin money butan portte, which the author, whom he calls Brompton, renders *extra portum* (8); but Dr. Wilkins gives it *extra portam*, and Mr. Lambarde, followed by Mr. Selden (9), *extra oppidum*, which, I

(1) None of his money has yet appeared. (2) Wilkins, Concilia, p. 289.
(3) Legg. Edgari, cap. 8. (4) Legg Canuti, cap. 8.
(5) Matth. Paris, p. 86. (6) Rog. Hoveden, p. 491.
(7) See *Numiſm. incerta*, No. 1.
(8) Joh Brompton, inter x Script. Col. 843. and again, Col. 899.
(9) Selden, Spicileg. ad Eadmer, p. 218.

imagine,

imagine, comes in effect to the ſame (1). The deſign of this prohibition was, as I take it, to prevent the frauds and mal-practices, which but too often were committed in thoſe mints that were occupied in private and obſcure places. To theſe rogueries the ordinance of Ethelred II. ſeems to refer, where he ſays, 'ȝ þa mynecenay þe inne puda pyrceð oððe ellep þpæn þ þa bion þeopa 'þeopep rcyldiz, &c.' which is tranſlated by Dr. Wilkins, 'Et 'monetarii qui *in ligno* operantur, vel alicubi aliter, ſint vitæ 'ſuæ rei (2);' but ſurely it ought rather to be rendered, *qui in Sylva operantur*, for the words oððe ellep þpæn, *vel alicubi*, ſeem to ſhew, that the legiſlator is ſpeaking of *place*, and not of materials; and ſo Brompton, in that obſcure paſſage, Col. 898, has it, 'Et eos eciam qui conos (3) faciunt *in occultis*.' And again, 'Et conſtituerunt quod monetarii manum perdant et ponatur 'ſuper ipſius monetæ fabricam, et *qui in nemoribus* vel alibi 'ſimilibus [f. locis] fabricant, vitæ ſuæ culpatiles ſint, &c.' implying, that knaviſh and clandeſtine doings were moſt common in thoſe retired and ſecret abodes. The abbot of St. Auguſtine, probably, before this prohibition, ſtruck his money ſomewhere within the precincts of his monaſtery, but from thenceforward was obliged to keep his office within the walls of the city of Canterbury; for abbot Silveſter is plainly ſaid to have had his mint *in Civitate Cantuariæ* (4), in conſequence, no doubt, of this regulation of Athelſtan's; and therefore when Mr. Thoreſby ſuggeſts, that the archbiſhop of York coined his money, after the time of our regulation, in ſome private apartment of the cathedral itſelf (5); and Mr. Thwaites ſays expreſſly, his coin was *in Eccleſia Eboracenſi percuſſa* (6); they appear to me to be miſtaken; and 'tis remarkable, that ſome of theſe York coins, called Peter-Pence, have EBORACE CIV, clearly denoting the city, and not the church. And in an half groat, ſtruck in the reign of king Henry VII, by this archbiſhop, you have CIVITAS EBORACI (7).

A third obſervation on Athelſtan's ordinance muſt be, that the archbiſhop is here allowed to have two workmen; and ſo

(1) See Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 229.
(2) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 118.
(3) Vide infra in Annot. ad p. 86.
(4) Thorne, Col. 1816.
(5) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 341.
(6) Thwaites, Notæ ad Anglo-Sax. Nummos. Oxon. 1708.
(7) Thoreſby, Muſ. No. 22. Folkes, p. 16. & Pl. 6.

it

it occurs again in Dr. Wilkins's edition of the Councils (1), where it is likewiſe ſaid, there were to be ſeven minters at Canterbury, four for the king, two for the archbiſhop, and one for the abbot, meaning the abbot of St. Auguſtine. But now in Brompton's copy of this ordinance, 'tis eight minters; four for the king, three for the archbiſhop, and one for the abbot (2); and this I conceive to be the truth, as the archbiſhops were permitted, both in the reign of Richard I. and of king John, to have three mints (3); and that the archbiſhop of York claimed to have three mints (4), to be upon the ſame footing, as we may ſuppoſe, with the primate of Canterbury, unleſs he had an eye to the mint his predeceſſor wrought at Lincoln (5). It does not appear, that any other ſubjects, but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the abbot of St. Auguſtine, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, were permitted at this time to occupy mints. The ordinance is ſilent as to every body elſe, the other mints being, as I take it, all regal ones. The indulgence ſeems to have been continued to them, on account of their having enjoyed it immemorially, and therefore were not to be *totally* diveſted of their rights. This accords with what was remarked above on Mr. Selden's ſuggeſtions, as likewiſe with facts and the appearance of things, no one having ever ſeen a ſingle penny fabricated by the hand of a ſubject after this date, except the archbiſhop of York and the abbot of St. Edmundſbury, whoſe caſes ſhall be reported and accounted for in the ſequel.

Fourthly, the ordinance, paſſed ſo early in the king's reign as the year 928, when he acceded but A. 925, concerns only the ſtate and kingdom of Weſſex, though no doubt the other kingdoms, as faſt as they were ſubdued, or ſubmitted themſelves, would be obliged to conform to this regulation of the king's, as they did to the reſt. 'Tis certain, that no place is mentioned in this law but what lay within the bounds of what at the time was the Weſt Saxon kingdom, Kent and Suſſex, being now part and parcel thereof. The cities and towns lie all in the ſouth of England, and, except London, ſouth of the

(1) Wilkinſii Concilia, I. p. 206. (2) Brompton, Col. 843.
(3) Pat. Reg. Joh. in Wilkins Legg. A—Sax. p. 355. See below, p. 88.
(4) Nicholſon, Hiſt. Libr. p. 263. (5) See below, p. 67.

river Thames. London had been formerly given to Athelſtan's father (1), and ſo had deſcended to him, but all the other parts of the iſland were as yet independent of him. He coined money indeed afterwards, at Leiceſter, Derby, York, and elſewhere, without the limits of Weſſex, but not, I preſume, till after A. 928; wherefore when Mr. Somner ſays Athelſtan appointed mints at this time *throughout the kingdom* (2), he muſt be underſtood to mean the kingdom of Weſſex. However, one may in a good meaſure judge from this ordinance, of the number of mints in theſe ages, which muſt have been very numerous, ſince it is added in the laſt clauſe, *Alias in aliis Caſtellis unus*; or, as Brompton has it, *alias in aliis Caſtellis unus et in aliis burgis*, we may judge ſomething alſo of the proportion in which they were diſtributed over the king's dominions; and laſtly, of the quality of the minters, who, as they were ſo large a body, all taken together, could not be perſons of high rank: But of this more hereafter.

Theſe reflections and obſervations may account for the omiſſion of York, St. Edmunſbury, and Lincoln, in the king's regulation, where yet, we are ſure, certain prelatical coins were minted in the Saxon times. On theſe it may be proper to enlarge a little. York was in the hands of the Danes when the law was enacted; for Athelſtan did not become perfect maſter of that city till A. 937 (3), wherefore it could not be included in the ordinance, or even mentioned there. But as ſoon as it fell into his hands, it became no doubt ſubject to his laws and ordinances, and this amongſt the reſt; wherefore whatever the Northumbrian primates had done before, from this time forward they would be obliged to deſiſt from ſtriking money for themſelves, and in their own right, as their brother primates of the ſouth were. Mr. Drake, in the *Eboracum*, has collected together in one plate (4), all the coins which he could reaſonably imagine were minted at York; of theſe, though they are indeed numerous, not above one or two, if you exclude the Peter-Pence, can be deemed with any degree of certainty to be prelatical, viz. No. 7 and 8, which are both

(1) Rapin, p. 98. (2) Somner, Antiq. Canterb. p. 65.
(3) Drake's Eboracum, p. 79. (4) Drake, Eboracum, in Append. p. CIV.

coins

coins of Athelſtan, and as they preſent us with the king's name, as well as for other reaſons, muſt have been coined after the ordinance. In the judgment of our antiquaries, there is a rude repreſentation of the cathedral on their reverſes (1), from whence one may collect they iſſued from the archbiſhop's mint, though they were coined for the king, whoſe name they bear, and probably ſomewhere in the city. In the firſt of the coins in queſtion, + ÆÐELSTAN REX. Reverſe, PVLSIƆ (2). Mr. Thoreſby ſays the building is reverſed by the engraver's miſtake (3), but this does not appear ſo to me, ſince the building exactly reſembles that on No. 8. In the reverſe of No. 8, coined by Regnard, Sir Andrew Fountaine finds the word *Eboraca* (4), the name of the city of York; but in Mr. Thoreſby's type in Camden, and it was his own coin, it is rather EBRAC AL, that is, EBRACenſis ACleſia, as, according to Mr. Thoreſby, *Eccleſia* was frequently written in the barbarous ages (5). I think it probable, however, that theſe primates continued ſtriking money throughout the Saxon times, witneſs the Peter-Pence, the pennies of Eric (6), and that we are aſſured they were in poſſeſſion of their mints in the Conqueror's reign (7). The *Sancti Petri Moneta*, of which there are not leſs than eight in Mr. Drake's plate (8), may all be fairly preſumed (Mr. Wiſe is of the ſame opinion) (9), to have flowed from thence (10), as the king's own workmen had no connection or concern with St. Peter, as the name of this

(1) Sir A. Fountaine, ad Tab. II. p. 171.
(2) Hence Thwaites deduces, very improbably, the name of Wolſey.
(3) Thoreſby in Camd. Col. CLXXXII.
(4) And ſo we have it in Mr. Drake's Eboracum, p. CIII.
(5) Thoreſby in Camd. Col. CLXXXIX. and in Muſ. p. 345, alſo Mr. Thwaites, p. 3. (6) See below, p. 54. (7) See below, p. 85.
(8) Another occurs in Numiſm. Pembroch. Part 4. Tab. 2.
(9) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.
(10) Some have formerly imagined the *Sancti Petri moneta* were the Peter-Pence paid to the Pope. But this notion is ſolidly confuted by Mr. Drake in the Eboracum, p. CV. He acknowledges, p. CVI. they have been ſometimes called by that name, and probably they were, juſt as a noted ſtone-quarry at Ledſtone, in Yorkſhire, is called *Peter-Poſt*, becauſe York minſter, dedicated to St. Peter, was built with the ſtone hewen out of it. Thoreſby, Duc. Leod. p. 239. The Rome-ſcot was called Peter-Pence, becauſe it was paid on the Feaſt of St. Peter ad Vincula. Edgar's Laws, p. 77. Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 340. Rapin, p. 54. See alſo Sir A. Fountaine, p. 181.

apoſtle appears to be characteriſtic of this ſee, and as upon three of them, No. 39, 40, and 45, the cathedral is attempted to be expreſſed, though in a manner even more uncouth and clumſy than that on No. 7 and 8 of Athelſtan's coins above. I eſteem them to be all coins poſterior to Athelſtan's regulation, and perhaps minted not long before the Norman Conqueſt. To ſay a word on the ſword that appears on many of theſe pennies, Mr. Thwaites was ſo much at a loſs about it, that he puts the queſtion, 'An gladius in tribus nummis referatur ad 'D. Paulum, D. Petri ἀγαπητου᾽ Ἀδελφόν?' And in fact, this inſtrument is generally the *inſigne* or emblem of St. Paul, and not of St. Peter, as this laſt did not die by a ſword, but was crucified with his head downwards. The *Keys* are commonly the proper badge of St. Peter, and are accordingly often placed on the York coins, in later ages (1). The apoſtle himſelf is alſo frequently called by the name of *Claviger* (2). St. Paul, I am perſuaded nevertheleſs, has no connection or concern with theſe coins: How then, you will ſay, comes the ſword there? Mr. Thoreſby thinks it was to diſtinguiſh the monies of the preſent archbiſhop from thoſe of his predeceſſors. But perhaps it may be an alluſion to thoſe prophetical words of our Saviour to this apoſtle, on his wounding one of the ſervants of the high prieſt, *They that take the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword*, Matth. xxvi. 52. for it appears from John xviii. 10. that Peter was the perſon that inflicted the wound; and it is poſſible that in theſe very illiterate ages, the text might be underſtood of St. Peter perſonally and according *to the letter*, though all that was meant was, that the death of ſuch perſons ſhould be violent, the ſword, in a common way, being an inſtrument of violence; vide Schotti Adagia (3). But I rather think this device refers to the *power of the ſword*, ſuppoſed in theſe times to have been conferred on St. Peter, and his ſucceſſors, the Popes of Rome, from whence we hear ſo much of the ſword of St. Peter (4). Let the learned judge.

(1) Tables of the Antiquarian Society. (2) Du Freſne, Gloſſ. in v. Claviger.
(3) But ſee a different interpretation in Grotius, who takes it not generally, but applies it to the caſe of our Saviour and the Jews.
(4) Lord Lyttelton's Life of K. Hen. II. Vol. IV. p. 235. 313.

There

There are two coins in Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VIII. which he gives to Eric, whom he repreſents as king of the Eaſt Angles, and ſucceſſor of Guthrum; but as there is a ſword acroſs the field of the obverſe, exactly after the manner of theſe Peter-Pence, we ought with more reaſon to turn our eyes upon Eric the ſucceſſor of Anlaf in the Northumbrian kingdom (1). But I am of opinion myſelf, that this being the archiepiſcopal device of the primates of York, theſe two pieces are really prelatical coins, minted by the archbiſhop for this king Eric. Mr. Selden obſerves, that after Athelſtan's time, no money was coined without the king's name or effigies: 'Neque ullum poſtmodum *ſine principis effigie aut nomine* num-'mum percuſſum, adjecto interdum ſive comitis provincialis, 'ſive urbis aut oppidi domini ſive cuſoris etiam nomine (2).' This, however, is not ſtrictly true, for the *Sancti Petri moneta*, the piece of archbiſhop Wulſton (3), the pennies of St. Edmunſbury, and the Lincoln coin, to be conſidered below, don't preſent us either with the king's effigies or his name: Neither do we meet with the earl's name, or the names of lords of cities and towns expreſſed upon theſe later Saxon coins, as he ſuggeſts, but only the names of the mint-maſters, or, if a prelatical piece, with ſome device denoting that, The caſe with the earls and barons in king Stephen's time, who was obliged, for political reaſons, to indulge the nobility in their humours, and to connive at their encroachments on the regality, was different from this, and has nothing to do with the practice of the Saxon times. To have done with theſe Peter-Pennies, as they were called, they were the king's money, though ſtricken by the archbiſhops of York.

There are two other York, and, as we apprehend, prelatical coins, which, though they appear not in Mr. Drake's plate, are intituled to ſome notice on this occaſion. 'Tis true, I formerly delivered my ſentiments on both theſe curious coins in the *Series of Diſſertations on ſome elegant and very valuable Anglo-Saxon Remains* (4), and they were not diſapproved, in regard to one of them at leaſt, by a very able and competent judge in

(1) Drake, Eborac. p. 80. (2) Selden, in Spicileg. ad Eadmer.
(3) See next paragraph.
(4) See the Letters there, No. 1 and 5, and No. 2.

theſe matters, the reverend and learned Mr. Clarke, of Buxted (1); but this need not prevent me from repeating the ſubſtance of what was then advanced, ſince it is ſo *a propos* to the ſubject in hand. It was then decided, upon the matureſt conſideration, that the firſt of theſe coins, which is of gold, a very celebrated piece, and of which there is a type in the above *Series of Diſſertations*, as well as in *Numiſm. Comitis Pembroch.* Part IV. Tab. 2. (2), belonged to Vigmund, the 12th archbiſhop of York, who ſat from the year 831 to A.D. 854. There is not the leaſt doubt but the obverſe exhibits the effigies of an archbiſhop; the figure with a cap embroidered on the fillet, and the robes, ſo perfectly reſembling thoſe of the primates of Canterbury, as diſplayed here in our plate. I read it accordingly VIGMVND ARCEP. (3). The coin, you obſerve, was minted long before king Athelſtan's regulation, and conſequently when the primates of York might enjoy the power of coining in as ample a manner as the primates of Canterbury did, and of which they were at length deprived by this ordinance of king Athelſtan. So that the piece is not only perconſiſtent with what we have delivered above concerning the riſe and progreſs of the prelatical practices, in reſpect of their mints, but alſo greatly confirms it. The other, which is a ſilver coin of Mr. John White's, belongs, as I conjectured, to Wulſton, archbiſhop of York and biſhop of Worceſter, who acceded to both ſees, A. 1002, and died A. 1023. The type, which may be ſeen in the *Series of Diſſertations*, is evidently in the manner of king Ethelred II. who died A. 1016; and 'tis obſervable, that being ſtruck long after the promulgation of king Athelſtan's law, it exhibits not the buſt or portrait of this pluraliſt, but only the two ſaints of his churches, St. Peter and St. Mary, to ſhew it to be a prelatical, and not a regal coin, though minted for the king, and according to his regulation. The prelate's name, indeed, occurs on the obverſe, which is uncommon, after the time of our ordinance, but that is becauſe the figures of the ſaints having neither names nor emblems to denote who they were, the authority of the coin would have

(1) Mr. Clarke's Connex. of Rom. Sax. and Engl. Coins, p. 380. et alibi.
(2) As alſo in Mr. Wiſe.
(3) For this abbreviation, ſee Ceolnoth's coins, No. 1.

been

been loſt, had the prelate's name been abſent, at too great an uncertainty. This coin is exceedingly ſelect and curious, as moſt of Mr. White's coins are.

I proceed now on the caſe of St. Edmundſbury, which will be diſpatched in fewer words. We have four coins in Sir A. Fountaine's VIth plate from this place, but it could not be noticed as a place of coinage in king Athelſtan's regulation, ſince it was then but an inconſiderable, though an ancient village; the monaſtery there, and the town, which depended upon the monaſtery, not arriving at any great degree of opulence till the reign of king Cnut, or A. D. 1020 (1). And in fact, theſe coins all carry a modern appearance, ſo as to be thought, and with reaſon, to have been minted after that date. They ſhew neither the abbot's name, nor his *effigies*, and were coined conſequently for the king, and by his authority alone. What is more deciſive, the abbot of St. Edmundſbury had not the privilege of working a mint till the Confeſſor's reign, who *conceſſit etiam dicto Edmundo monetarium ſive cuneum infra Bury* (2). And whereas Mr. Thwaites, and I may add Mr. Thoreſby (3), incline to think the laſt of theſe coins to be an *amulet* rather than a coin, on account of the inſcription IOMA Monetarius ME FECIT, I differ from them entirely, ſince it was both coined by a mint-maſter, and has as much the manner and caſt of a coin as any one of the St. Edmundſbury pennies. Neither do I think the inſinuation of Sir A. Fountaine, concerning theſe four coins from St. Edmundſbury, one jot more plauſible; he opines they were coined by the direction of ſome of our kings, *qui erat ejuſdem ſive nominis ſive proſapiæ*, whereas they were probably minted in the Confeſſor's reign, who did not deſcend from St. Edmund, and according to the mere fancy of the abbot or his workman (4). Sir Andrew again, as likewiſe Mr. Walker, ſuſpects the 57th of Eadweard may repreſent the Great Church at St. Edmundſbury (5), but

(1) Biſhop Tanner's Notitia, p. 504. Archd. Battely, Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi, p. 32.
(2) Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Cuneus. Vide omnino J. Battely Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 46.
(3) Thoreſby, in Camd. Tab. IV.
(4) Mr. Wiſe, I obſerve, is of the ſame opinion; Numm. Bodl. p. 230.
(5) This piece will be mentioned again below.

as the piece belongs to Edward the Elder, the great church of the abbey was not then erected; but to do Sir Andrew juſtice, he lays no ſtreſs on this conjecture.

We have already attempted to explain and appropriate ſeveral of Sir A. Fountaine's *Numiſmata incerta*, and I hope with ſucceſs; and here it is propoſed to try our fortune on another, imagining No. 2. of thoſe pieces may poſſibly prove to be a coin from this abbey. ꝺC EADI with A in the center. Reverſe, CIRYI NO, with a croſs in the field. It was Mr. Thoreſby's coin, who, in his Muſeum (1), talks of a Saint *Eada* that had been a general, but was ſainted for preferring a monaſtery before a throne. 'The central A,' he ſays, 'denotes the piece coined 'by king Ælfred in honour of St. Eada; reverſe, CIRYL MOneta, 'or cyric yceat, *church-money:* See the 54th Canon of K. Edgar, 'and Spelman's Councils.' But ſurely, to be as brief as I can, the laſt ſtroke in EADI, muſt be part of M, and the Saint's name conſequently Eadmund. The A in the field ſignifies Angliæ, or Anglorum Rex, as uſual on the St. Edmundſbury coins; and indeed we know of no connection king Ælfred had with this *Eada*, for his patron ſaint was St. Cuthbert (2). The reverſe gives us the minter's name; the ſame, I preſume, as *Siric* in the Saxon Chronicle, and elſewhere (3). And it is ridiculous to talk of *church-money*, which, no doubt, was always paid in the current coin of the country, and not in money coined for that particular purpoſe: This Mr. Thoreſby muſt admit upon his own principles delivered in regard of the Peter-Pence (4); and ſee what is ſaid on the ſubject of tribute-money in the eſſay on *the Coins of Cunobelin* (5).

Now I am in a mood of hariolation, what if that blundered coin given to Sycfred, in Sir A. Fountaine's IXth Table, and engraved in Camd. Tab. I. ſhould prove a penny emitted by this abbot? It certainly has much of the air and faſhion of the St. Edmundſbury ſpecie; and whereas our Tabuliſts are puzzled to find out the owner, one crying, 'Attinet ad *Sycfredum ſeu* '*Sigebertum*,' king of Weſſex, the ſucceſſor of Cuthred (6), as

(1) Thoreſby, Muſeum, p. 342. (2) Sir A. Fountaine, p. 169.
(3) St. Cyriac is called St. Syriac. Tanner, Notitia, p. 70.
(4) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 340. (5) Eſſay on Coins of Cunobelin, p. 24. ſeq.
(6) Sir A. Fountaine.

if

if theſe were both names of the ſame perſon, which does not appear from the Saxon Chronicles, where he is invariably called Sigebert; and another eſteeming him a king of the Eaſt Saxons, named alſo Suuefred, and denominated *Sigfrid the Good* (1), who yet is called Sigebert by William of Malmeſbury (2). Whereas, I ſay, the Tabuliſts vary in this manner, and are at a loſs for the proprietor, I incline to be of opinion, that the piece came from St. Edmundſbury. The inſcription, + ꝺYCFRDHI'I, ſeems to be intended SCI EADMVI, it being evident, from the reverſe, that the minter was a moſt wretched bungler.

We are now arrived at the city of Lincoln, which, without all diſpute, is a very ancient place and a Roman colony. Dr. Gale rejoices, in his Commentary on the *Itinerary*, that the anonymous geographer of *Ravenna* happened ſo to deſcribe it: 'Anonymus *Ravennas* habet expreſsè *Lindum Colonia*, hoc uno 'vocabulo adjecto, quantum lucis affudit ille hiſtoriæ antiquæ? 'Magnas profectò gratias ei debemus quod tandem Subſcripti- 'onem Concilii *Arelatenſis* intelligamus *Adelphius Epiſcopus de* '*Civitate Colonia Londi*, haud dubiè pro *Colonia Lindi*. Hoc 'ipſum Beda pœnè vidit cum hanc urbem Lindi—collina nomi- 'naret (3).' Richard of Cirenceſter, publiſhed by Mr. Charles Bertram, of Copenhagen, A. 1757, has ſince fully confirmed this, as both in his map, and alſo p. 26. 36, and 37, of his book, he calls it a *Colony*; and it accords well with biſhop Stillingfleet's idea of one Britiſh biſhop's attending the Council of *Arles*, from each province of the iſland (4); for as Lincoln was in the Flavian province, Adelphius probably came from thence. This now affords us a plain etymology of the name of this city, which in later ages, by having the final N frequently dropped, was greatly obſcured, as in the coin I am going to produce: So we have LILOLENSIS in the monumental inſcription of William Deincourt (5), who died in the reign of William Rufus. And this gentle noun is commonly found in

(1) Walker in Camden. (2) Gul. Malmeſb. p. 35.
(3) Gale ad Antonin. Itin. p. 96.
(4) Stillingfleet, Antiq. of Brit. Churches, p. 74. ſeq.
(5) Hearne, Præf. ad Thom. Sprott.

the

the ſame form in the monkiſh hiſtorians (1). Hence alſo Lincolla and Lincol, in the Saxon Chronicle (2), and Lincoleſire in Henry of Huntingdon (3). The Normans, in their corruption of the name into *Nichol* (4), omitted likewiſe the final N; but the 7th coin of king Cnut (5), and the 10th of Harold (6), have it rightly *Lincoln*. In the Saxon ages, of which we are here ſpeaking, Lincoln was deemed a *City*, and is ſtill ſtiled ſo on our penny, engraved in the Pembrochian Tables (7). The piece undoubtedly came from ſome mint at Lincoln, and probably from an eccleſiaſtical one, as Mr. Wiſe alſo thinks (8), who has alſo engraved it in his 17th plate. The coin is extremely curious, but attended with ſome difficulty, from which, however, we ſhall endeavour to extricate ourſelves in the beſt manner we can. The obverſe has a ſword acroſs the area, like thoſe on the *Sancti Petri moneta*, with this inſcription, SCI MARTI. The reverſe has a device of a very ſingular nature, viz. one croſs within another, in this form, and the inſcription is, LINCOLIA (9) CIVT. If the city of Lincoln was not at this time ſo large a place as at preſent, there is room for us, nevertheleſs, to include it under thoſe general concluding words of Athelſtan's regulation, *alias in aliis Caſtellis unus*; for we know that money was coined before the Norman Conqueſt at a great number of places not mentioned in that regulation, Nottingham (10), Derby, &c. The tranſlation of the ſee after the Conqueſt, from Dorcheſter to Lincoln, ſhews plainly that this latter place was then of good eſtimation; for by the ſynodical conſtitution, in virtue of which that removal was made, the

(1) Hen. Hunt. p. 384. Contin. Flor. Vig. p. 660.
(2) Chron. Sax. p. 28. and 241.
(3) Hen. Hunt. p. 298. but elſewhere, *Lincolnſire*.
(4) Camden, Brit. Col. 563, 564, N and L being letters of the ſame organ, are eaſily counterchanged. See Kuhnius ad Ælian, V. H. XII. 42. and Menage Origines de la Langue Franc. p. XXI. Edit. 1650.
(5) Sir A. Fount. Tab. IV. (6) Ibid. Tab. VIII.
(7) Numiſm. Pembroch. Part IV. Tab. 2. there was formerly another in the Cotton Library, and now, I preſume in the Brit. Muſeum.
(8) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 230. (9) So Hen. Hunt. p. 299.
(10) There were two mints here at the time of making Domeſday Survey. Thoroton, p. 488.

ſees

ſees were to be transferred from leſſer places to *greater* towns and cities; and John Brompton teſtifies, that Lincoln was *Civitas Clariſſima* (1) in the Conqueror's reign, as Giraldus Cambrenſis terms it, *Urbs præclara* (2); ſee alſo Camden, Col. 564. But ſtill I do not take this to have been the caſe, i. e. that it was included in thoſe general words of Athelſtan's ordinance, being rather inclined to believe, that at the time of king Athelſtan's regulation, Lindſey, of which Lincoln was the ſouthern boundary incluſively, was a part of the vaſt kingdom of Northumberland, and conſequently was in ſubjection to the Danes, and if ſo, king Athelſtan's ordinance could not extend to it, nor include it. What makes the greateſt difficulty in reſpect of the coin in queſtion, is, firſt, that an eccleſiaſtical coin ſhould be ſtruck at Lincoln before the Norman Conqueſt, as this unqueſtionably was; when the ſee was at Dorcheſter, and not there; and, 2dly, to account for the name of the ſaint, St. Martin. We muſt try to clear theſe points, and ſhall attempt them both together. Lindſey, I am of opinion, was at this time, which was not long before the conqueſt, part of the ſee of York; for Simeon of Durham tells us, that after the Conqueſt, when Remigius, who had erected the new cathedral at Lincoln, wanted to conſecrate it, Thomas, archbiſhop of York, oppoſed him, alleging it was in his dioceſe, 'Affirmans eam in ſua parochia (3) eſſe conſtructam (4),' and even lodging an appeal (5). And ſo Brompton writes, that on occaſion of Remigius's building his church there, 'Provinciam 'tamen *Lyndeſeye* Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis *ex antiqua tempo-* 'rum ſerie vendicabat (6).' Whether his claim was well founded may be doubted, becauſe the author informs us, 'Remigius vero Petitionem ejus ſive Calumpniam (7) minime 'timens, opus inceptum non ſegniter peregit (8).' And, if

(1) Brompton inter x Script. Col. 983.
(2) Giraldus Cambr. in Wharton's Angl. Sacr. II. p. 411.
(3) *Parochia* here means *Dioceſe.*
(4) Simeon Dunelm. inter x Script. Col. 217. See alſo Col. 490. and M. Paris, p. 16. Girald. Cambr. in Whartoni Angl. Sacr. II. p. 411. 415. 417.
(5) M. Paris, p. 16.
(6) Brompton, inter x Script. Col. 983. alſo M. Paris, p. 12. Br. Willis, II. p. 45.
(7) *Calumpnia*, here means *Claim.*
(8) Brompton & M. Paris, ll. cc.

you can credit the declaration of Pope Nicholas, in reſpect of it, it was an unjuſt invaſion of the rights of the ſee of Dorcheſter (1). This claim, however, ſerves our preſent purpoſe, as it ſhews that archbiſhop Alfric, before the Conqueſt (2), and archbiſhop Thomas after it, had both been in poſſeſſion of Lindſey and Lincoln. And 'tis certain that Robert Bloet, ſucceſſor of Remigius, was obliged at laſt to pay a large ſum to king William Rufus, for the final emancipation of his church, with Lindſey, from the ſee of York. In conſideration whereof, and for the making of ſome recompence to the Yorkiſts, the king made the latter a noble grant of lands, &c. in Glocеſterſhire (3). And Rufus, on this account, has been ſometimes repreſented as the founder of the church of Lincoln. In Dr. Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, where the arguments are ſtated on both ſides, in reſpect of the great cauſe concerning the primacy of York and Canterbury, agitated ſoon after the conqueſt, the Yorkiſts aſſert that the *See of Lincoln* had been injuriouſly taken from the province of York (4). But this was pleaded very groundleſly, ſince we don't find that the primates of York ever claimed more than Lindſey: This is moſt evident from the words of Giraldus Cambrenſis, who teſtifies that Remigius only recovered Lindſey from the province of York to that of Canterbury: The words are, 'Lindeſeiam totam ab Humbro ma-'rino uſque *Withemam* fluvium qui Lincolniam permet et pene-'trat per tanta terrarum ſpatia (5).' As to St. Martin's, in which part of the city of Lincoln this coin was minted (6), it was probably at this time the principal church of the city, before the cathedral was erected; and if ſo, this would be reaſon ſufficient for the appearance of this ſaint's name upon the coin. It is not only at this time prebendal, but is thought, as it ſtands juſt at the foot of the hill, at the upper end of, and almoſt in a line with, the high-ſtreet, or principal ſtreet, to have been the moſt ancient church in the city, though at pre-

(1) Br. Willis, II. p. 45. (2) Ibid. l. c.
(3) Tanner's Notitia, p. 143. Dr. Inett, Hiſt. of Engl. Ch. II. p. 74. ſeq.
(4) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 39. (5) Giraldus Cambrenſis, l. c.
(6) There was anciently at Lincoln a mint or place of coinage above-hill, and there are noble remains of it at this day. But this, I conceive, had no relation to the coin in queſtion, as being of a much older date than even Athelſtan's law.

ſent

ſent it is ſo much altered, contracted, and modernized. Paulinus aforetime, A. 628, built a church of ſtone at Lincoln, but this was in a ruinous ſtate even in Ven. Bede's Time (1); and I think it not improbable, that St. Martin's might be the firſt church erected afterwards at this place. The queſtion then is, who ſtruck this coin there? I anſwer, no ſervant or workman of the king's, for it is evidently an eccleſiaſtical coin; no biſhop of Lincoln, for the coin was minted before the biſhops of that ſucceſſion were in poſſeſſion of the mint, or the ſee removed from Dorcheſter to Lincoln. It remains then, that the archbiſhop of York, then ſitting, was the perſon (2), and indeed no other ſuppoſition but this will account for the ſword upon this penny, (a device ſo peculiar to the primates of York) and the ſimilarity of the coin, upon that ſcore, with the *Sancti Petri moneta*, a ſpecies of currency undoubtedly iſſued by thoſe primates, and who, as we have ſhewn at large, were at this time, maſters, or dioceſans, in reſpect of the city of Lincoln, or claimed at leaſt to be ſuch. However, it is natural to think, that, upon the altercation abovementioned, the archbiſhop's mint would immediately ceaſe at this place.

Before I depart from this city, it is neceſſary for me to remark, that Mr. Thwaites, by an unaccountable and unpardonable miſtake, has aſcribed a coin of St. Edmundſbury, in Sir Andrew Fountaine's VIth Table, to it. The inſcription on the reverſe is, + ODO MONERLIA +, and this legend, 'tis true, is of difficult interpretation; but as the obverſe has ſo plainly + SC EADMVND RE, there is no pretence for giving away from S. Edmundſbury to any other place; however, not to Lincoln, as Mr. Thwaites does, ſince one cannot diſcover any thing like the name of this city upon it.

Our fifth obſervation on Athelſtan's ordinance ſhall be an enquiry into the rank, the ſtate and condition of the *monetarii* there mentioned. A diſquiſition the more neceſſary, as gentlemen ſeem to have incurred a long ſtring of miſtakes upon this head.

(1) Beda, II. c. 16.

(2) Probably Alric Puttoc, in the Confeſſor's reign. Br. Willis, II. p 45. He renewed the claim of the Yorkiſts, and might ſtrike money here in confirmation of it, but this is only conjecture.

The names of theſe maſters, as being perſons reſponſible for their reſpective performances (1), are generally expreſſed on the Saxon ſpecie; ſometimes alone, as univerſally on the *ſticæ*, and ſometimes along with the place of coinage. The *ſticæ*, I ſay, *univerſally* give us the name of the mint-maſter alone, for whereas an Ethelred of Mr. Thoreſby's has the reverſe repreſented thus, 'BERHTVE (Berhtulf, L and F being conjoined 'in the laſt character) NDEL, which Mr. Thwaites reads 'DVNEL (2)." This is a mere miſtake, for it ought to be read VENDELBERHT, theſe tranſpoſitions being very frequent on the Saxon ſpecie; and the coin next deſcribed, which Mr. Thoreſby teſtifies to be very little different, having the legend VENDL. . .

The proper term for theſe workmen was mýneteȝe (3), in Latin *Monetarius*; but this being a long word, an abbreviation of it commonly occurs on the coins, M. MO. $\overline{\text{MO}}$. MON. MONE. MONET. and MONETA, all which are intended for Monetarius (4), as is clear from hence, that in Camden, I. 21. we have MONETAI, which muſt be interpreted *Monetarius*, the I at the end being intended for the upright ſtroke of R; and in Camden, IV. 2. it is ſtill more at large, MINETRIV, or, as Mr. Wiſe repreſents it, MINETRIL (5); he alſo explains MONERLIA on the S. Edmundſbury penny, which I ſo lately mentioned, to the ſame ſenſe. In one of the coins of S. Edmundſbury, Camden, I. 23. the office of the minter is expreſſed in other terms, but to the ſame effect, IOMA. M. ME FECIT, and Mr. Wiſe adduces a form of like import, BVRDEN MEC FECIT, from a coin of king Edward, in Nic. Keder (6). All ſhewing, that when gentlemen explain the above abbreviations, and particularly the laſt, by *Moneta*, as I obſerve they perpetually do (7), they ſlide into

(1) Monetarium itque nomen ſuum haud oſtentationis ergo, ſed in piguus fidelitatis ſuæ, nummis appoſuiſſe reor; nec id ſponte, ſed coactum feciſſe, ſcilicet ut ſi reus fieret pœna plecteretur. Wiſe, Cat. Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(2) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 341. (3) Thwaites, p. 4. Chron. Sax. p. 228.

(4) Du Freſne in Gloſſ. Tom. IV. Col. 1012. M. Le Blanc, p. 57.

(5) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(6) Ibidem. See alſo what is ſaid on this ſubject on the 3d coin of Archbiſhop Plegmund.

(7) Thoreſby, Muſ. No. 42. 51. 57. 71. 345. et alibi paſſim.

non-

nonſenſe and abſurdity; and ſo at other times, when they ſay, *Moneta vel Monetarius*, as Sir Andrew Fountaine frequently does, one cannot approve of the doubt or ambiguity. In the caſe of the *Sancti Petri moneta*, that of S. Edmundſbury, and of S. Martin, at Lincoln, *Moneta* indeed ſeems to be the word intended, and not *Monetarius*; and the ſame may be underſtood in Wulfred's money (1); but in all other inſtances, the latter muſt neceſſarily be denoted.

In coins that exhibit the place of coinage, the word *Monetarius*, or its abbreviation, is often omitted; for, inſtead of ÐORR MO. ON EOFERPIC, as on the coins referred to in the margin (2), you ſhall only have ÐORR. ON. EOFERPIC (3).

Authors of the firſt rank have been apt to take the names of theſe ſuperintendents, or chief workmen at the ſeveral mints, to be the names of ſaints, biſhops, abbots, kings, earls, and other great perſons; of places or offices, and I know not what; by which means they have run into almoſt an infinity of errors, imagining, amongſt other things, that the parties coined money for themſelves, and in their own right, than which nothing could be leſs conſonant to truth.

To begin with the ſaints; Mr. Thwaites interprets Cudberht, the minter's name on the firſt coin of king Ælfred in Sir A. Fountaine's Tables, of St. Cuthbert; for he writes upon it, *Nummus percuſſus Dunelmi, in Eccleſiæ iſtius receſſibus*, as if there were no other perſons of the name of Cuthbert, but the Durham ſaint; whereas it is well known to be a common appellation both in the north and ſouth (4). I have no objection to a coin's being minted in the cathedral of Durham, as this penny of Ælfred the Great was ſtricken before Athelſtan's time, but there is no reaſon for thinking that this was, ſince Cudberht is only the name of the mint-maſter, who could have no connection with the city of Durham, as king Ælfred, his ſovereign, had no power or influence there whatſoever.

Hither I may refer the 19th of Edmund, ÆLEFZIL M°, i. e. *Alefzig monetarius*, where Mr. Thwaites moſt prepoſterouſly firſt finds the name Alef, and then conjectures, 'forte

(1) See the Commentary in Wulfred.
(2) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 345. No. 84. alſo, p. 343. No. 53. and 344. No. 71.
(3) Ibidem, p. 348. (4) Chron. Sax. p. 55. 61.

'legendum,

'legendum, + SILNum, hoc eſt *Crucis Signum*,' on account of the croſſes which appear on that piece. But theſe croſſes are perpetually ſeen on reverſes of this form.

I deſcend to biſhops; Mr. Thwaites would read VLFETEL, on the 4th coin of Edward, *Oſketel*, to make him the 17th archbiſhop of York, which is impoſſible, as Edward the Confeſſor, whoſe coin this undoubtedly is, did not aſcend the throne till A. 1042, and Oſkitel died A. 971. He acknowledges, however, the name *may be* Ulfketel; let it be what it will, it was only the ſignature of one of the king's coiners.

In the imperfect inſcription on 39th of Edward, the ſame gentleman fancied he ſaw the title of Abbot, 'Neſcio an ad 'Abbatem aliquem referatur, ſiquidem ABOT legatur.' It would be in vain to attempt to decypher this legend, it is ſo mutilated, but we may depend upon it, the four letters are a portion of the mint-maſter's name, and have no concern with the office of an abbot.

As to lay perſons, and in the firſt place, kings; the 6th of Cuthred has *Sigeberht* in the reverſe; and Sir A. Fountaine comments upon it: 'Satrapas vel monetarius vel forſan *Sige-* '*bertus Succeſſor Cuthred*; *in regno occidentalium Saxonum*; 'nummum enim hunc pertinere credo ad Cuthredum regem 'occidunt. Sax. et ſucceſſorem *Æthelheardi* ſeu Æthelweardi.' Moſt wonderful! Sure, I need add no more (1).

A coin of Athelſtan's, recited above, has REGNALD MON. which Mr. Thoreſby interprets wrong in the firſt place *Reginaldi moneta*, and then proceeds, 'This Regnald or Reginald '(I being included in the N) was himſelf alſo ſtiled king, and 'won the city of York, but was defeated A. 944 (2);' but few will believe he was any other than a common minter, and probably an officer of the archbiſhop's (3).

I go next to the earls and grandees.

The third of Æthelred in Sir Andrew, has, + STEORLER M· OEOFR, which in Mr. Thwaites reads very abſurdly, STEORL. E. Regis MOnetarius; and then adds, 'Neſcio an E ſejungendum

(1) However, I ſhall note here, that the piece demonſtrably belongs to Cuthred king of Kent, and not Cuthred of Weſſex.

(2) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 345. and again in No. 85. there.

(3) See above, p. 51.

'ſit,

"ſit, ut notet Eopl.' In like manner he interprets the 6th of that prince, which gives us, as plainly as one can deſire, + ALFPINE O LVND, thus, ALFPIN. Eopl. ō [on] LVNDon: And thus the 19th of Burgred, WINE MONETA, he divides, WIN. E. MONETA, and would have E to mean Eopl. as if it was intended to ſay, *the earl's money;* when nobody ever heard of ſuch an earl, and the name is plainly WINE, a common Saxon appellation (1). Let theſe ſpecimens ſuffice in reſpect of Mr. Thwaites, though he has many more of the ſame ſtamp (2).

Sir Andrew Fountaine thinks Cudberht, on Ælfred's penny abovementioned, to be *a nobleman or minter.* Ealrued and Eoba, on the coins of Offa, he alſo takes to be *magnates.* The charge againſt this author is further ſupported in the numerous references accumulated at the bottom of the page (3). Wherefore I ſhall only remark here, that Sir Andrew, in the *Diſſert. Epiſtolaris* to the earl of Pembroke, thought he made his lordſhip a compliment by calling theſe minters *viri illuſtres*, and that he found the name of *Herbert* amongſt them, an argument, as he takes it, that his family flouriſhed 900 years ago. Nay he holds it probable, that Hereberht, on a penny of Ceolulf, was the ſame perſon with the earl of that name that was ſlain by the Danes, A. 938, and accordingly pronounces him, p. 174, without heſitation, *unus e magnatibus.*

Mr. Walker eſteems Wlfred, on the 2d of Ælfred's coins, to be the name of ſome *nobleman*; as likewiſe Eelhfard, on a coin of Beormiric, to be another great man; Eaduini on the penny of Eanred, to be *unus e magnatibus vel forſan monetarius*; and Viberehtus on a coin of Egbert, to be *nomen vel ſatrapæ vel monetariis*; and Eoba, on the 13th of Offa, to be *unus e pro-*

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 37. 39.

(2) As p. 6, No. 15. and p. 7, No. 13. 5 of Edgar. Alſo p. 8. No. 10. 13. 14. 1. p. 10. No. 6. 17. 8. p. 11. No. 13. Mr. Thoreſby generally concurs with him in his interpretations.

(3) Sir A. Fountaine, p. 169. See him again on 12th of Athelſtan, 3d of Æthelweard, 1ſt of Anlaf, and Audulfius, 1ſt of Berhtulf, 2d. 6th and 8th of Coenuulf, 16 & 20th of Edgar, 8 and 18th of Eadmund, 56, 57, 58 and 61 of Eadweard, 1ſt of Eric, all the coins of Offa except one or two, and the general note on the 10th table.

ceribus.

ceribus. This is ſufficient, methinks, in regard of this gentleman (1).

The 4th of Sir Andrew Fountaine's *Numiſm. incert.* which was Mr. Thoreſby's coin, has EÐE NOD ON SNOTENEEHAM. and, what is extraordinary, is the ſame on both ſides. Mr. Thoreſby writes upon it, 'There is no king's name, and perhaps there never was any other name deſigned than Ethelnoth's, who was a *nobleman* deſervedly celebrated in the Saxon annals for his ſervices againſt the Danes, A. D. 894, as appears by the learned Dr. Gibſon's curious edition of the *Chron. Sax.* p. 94. In which century we find the names of *Ceolnoth* and *Plegmund*, upon their reſpective monies; and perhaps this noble Ealdorman, (as he is there ſtiled) might have the like privilege granted him as thoſe archbiſhops, by royal authority. I am the rather induced to offer this conjecture, becauſe it is one of the minted coins of thoſe ages, and therefore leſs likely to be done *incuria monetarii*.' But now the ſtile and manner of the coin do not at all agree with that age; the former is that of the mint-maſter's of more recent times; and I make no doubt but by ſome miſtake there are two reverſes, inſtead of an obverſe and reverſe (2); and moreover, that it is a regal coin, and not fabricated by any ealderman or earl, though it cannot be known with any certainty, as matters ſtand at preſent, to what king it belongs. Some future diſcovery of a a piece wrought by the ſame maſter may determine the owner, and whenever that happens, I am of opinion he will prove ſome prince about the time of Ethelred II.

Mr. Thoreſby, in one inſtance, conceives the minter to have been a great officer of ſtate; or employed at leaſt about the king's perſon or houſehold; for whereas we have on the reverſe of a coin of Edward the Confeſſor, which, by the way, he falſly beſtows on Edward the Elder, HVSLARL. ON. LEILE, he comments upon it, 'hurcarl, *famulus domeſticus*, a term ſeldom given

(1) However, ſee his Annot. in Camd. I. 7, 8, 9. 13. 27, 28. II. 9. 12. 23, 24. III. 35. and IV. 29.

(2) The caſe here is different from No. 5. of Sir A. Fountaine's *Numiſm. incert.* for though the maſter's name occurs there on both ſides, the type on the obverſe varies from that of the reverſe.

'to

'to any but the king's own ſervants,' ſaith Somner (1). And yet Huſcarl can be deemed no other than the proper name of the mint-maſter.

So as to Thorr, one of whoſe performances is cited above (2), he obſerves, 'This Thorr was probably the very ſame perſon 'who is frequently mentioned in *Domeſday Book*, as having had 'a vaſt eſtate in theſe northern parts of England; but being 'diſpoſſeſs'd thereof by the Conqueror, the moſt of it lay waſte 'at the time of that memorable ſurvey.' Here is no rank or quality pretended, but only an intimation given of a great eſtate. But I deſire it may be conſidered, that theſe mint-maſters, of which there were ſix and ſeven and eight in a city, could never be people of any great account, but only principal workmen at the king's and prelates mints. Had they been of ſuch rank, as to coin money for themſelves, as the remarks of theſe gentlemen ſeem, in ſome caſes, to imply, you would certainly have found their names in another place, viz. on the obverſe of the reſpective coins; as EDILHELM, who is ſuppoſed to have been a nobleman of the kingdom of Northumberland, appears on the obverſe of the *ſtica* aſſigned to him, and BRODER, his workman, on the reverſe (3). Whence one may conclude in general, that the quality of the minters, in the Saxon times, though the wardenſhip or ſuperintendency of the mints was doubtleſs a place of profit, and of ſome truſt and confidence, was only of a ſecondary and inferior rate; and to this agrees Mr. Wiſe, 'Monetarii mihi videntur inferioris con-'ditionis homines, aliorum artificum more arte ſua victum 'quærentes (4).' This is further evident from the narrative we have of a proceeding of king Henry I. A. 1125, when he inflicted a moſt ſevere puniſhment on all the minters of the kingdom at Wincheſter. The authors, who inform us of this (5), don't give us the name of any one of them, which certainly they would not have failed to have done, had they been perſonages of ſuch conſequence as earls, or noblemen. I think it probable, that the firſt minters amongſt the Saxons

(1) Thoreſby, Muſeum, in Append. p. 591. (2) P. 71.
(3) See above, p. 7. (4) Wiſe, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.
(5) Chron. Sax. p. 228. Hen. Hunt. p. 382. Contin. Flor. Vig. p. 660. M. Paris, p. 70.

might be people of better eſtimation than thoſe that came afterwards; they might enjoy the whole profits of their *fabricæ*, or *officinæ* (1), but when the offices were once taken into the king's hands, and the profits thereof were become an article of the royal revenue; when the minter's emoluments were aſſumed by his principal, the prelate, as was the caſe in the later Saxon times, their condition would naturally ſuffer ſome diminution and debaſement. Let us weigh too the nature of the puniſhments inflicted on delinquents at the mints, eviration, ementulation, occæcation, amputation of the hand, diſgraceful and horrible penalties! and they will appear very incompatible with high blood; for what earls, or other noblemen, think you, would ever ſubmit their perſons, for the ſake of a little lucre, inſignificant to people of their rank, to the hazard of caſtigations ſo excruciating and intolerable, as well as ignominious? And why again, ſhould gentlemen be endeavouring at every town to compliment ſome of our old, reſpectable, and even noble families, the Saviles, the Herberts, the Berties, &c. with ſuch originals as theſe? I fear they do them no great honour in deducing them from ſtocks ſo precarious and uncertain at beſt; and eſpecially, whilſt it is ſo problematical, in my eye at leaſt, whether theſe ſuppoſed progenitors were people of much rank, or of any exalted condition whatſoever (2).

I proceed now on thoſe places and towns which gentlemen thought they diſcovered in the names of our maſters. The 2d of Anlaf, in Sir A. Fountaine, has FARNAN MONETA, and Mr. Thwaites comments upon it, 'Nummus in Farnâ 'inſula percuſſus, infra receſſus Eccleſiæ (quod ſolenne erat) 'nondum dirutæ,' and then appeals to the device, which, according to him, exhibits the rude form of a mitre, a paſtoral ſtaff, and the book with ſeven ſeals, combined together; he then obſerves, 'Cum Anlafus ſuſciperet Baptiſmum, credi-'derim hunc nummum percuſſum, ſacram fæderis cum Chriſto 'initi teſſeram;' ſo that in his opinion it has ſomething of the

(1) Confer Du Freſnii Gloſſ. v. Monetarius.

(2) M. Le Blanc thinks the French moneyers formerly performed *ſingly* what many officers are now employed about. Traitè des monnoyes de France, p. 58. and ſays, 'Ce ſont des perſonnes qui nous ſont tout à fait inconnues, et dont je 'ne ſçache pas qu'il ſoit fait mention ailleurs que ſur ces monnoyes.'

nature

nature of a medal. For the device I ſhall refer to the coins of archbiſhop Wulfred, No. 1. Here it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that Farnan is no more than the name of the mint-maſter, and that *moneta* was not intended to expreſs *nummus*, but *monetarius*; ſo that in regard of the ſuggeſtion, that the penny was minted in the church of Farne, before it was deſtroy'd, and of the medallic intention of it, theſe are no more than dreams. The 57th of Edward, Mr. Thwaites alſo thinks, may ſhew the *Icon Aſceterii Farnenſis*, a moſt extravagant and groundleſs conjecture, as indeed too many of this gentleman's are. The 18th of Edmund has plainly BOINLYI, and lac, lic, and leac, are uſual Saxon terminations; Mr. Thwaites, however, divides and interprets this legend, BDI. Monetarius. LYLcetfelb. Methinks, I need only give his interpretation, to expoſe the whim and abſurdity of it.

Mr. Thoreſby finds *York wolds* on the reverſe of a penny of Elfred, king of Northumberland, as he eſteems it. And Mr. Walker before him interpreted it juſt as incongruouſly, *Deirorum Sylvæ*. But hear Mr. Thoreſby; 'Deirorum Sylvæ, ſaith 'Mr. W. O. through miſtake; for the Saxon þolb ſignifies a 'hilly country void of wood, which ſtrictly anſwers the nature 'of the place, which is called *York-wolds* to this day. This 'piece of the *Northumbrian Elfred's* was probably coined at '*Beverley*, which is upon the *wolds*, for the uſe of the *Deiri*, 'or *Yorkſhire* men (1).' But now if this piece was coined at '*Beverley*, one would expect to ſee Beoferlic upon it, as the name of this town is written in the Saxon Chronicle (2). Beſides, who ever ſaw *Deira*, the name of the Northumbrian kingdom, written Diar, as in this compound Diarvald? Is not *Diar* here the ſame as in Diarulf, which is admitted to be the proper name of a perſon (3)? 'Tis ridiculous again to ſay, *Money for the Deirans*; when the king ſtiles himſelf on the obverſe, according to Mr. Thoreſby, *Rex Northanhymbrorum*; and as to his notion of þalb 'tis all ſuppoſition, ſince it may ſtand for þealb, a woody country, as well as for þolb, an hilly one; but as I take it, it means neither the one nor the other, but when it enters the compoſition of the Saxon names of men,

(1) Thoreſby, Muſeum, p. 340. (2) Chron. Sax. p. 52.
(3) Thoreſby, Muſ. in Append. p. 591.

imports power or dominion (1). Thus MO in this penny is to be interpreted *monetarius*, and not *moneta*, and Diarvald is the name of this minter. But what is more, and moſt deciſive in this matter, the piece is moſt demonſtrably a penny of king Ælfred the Great, and conſequently can have nothing to do with the kingdom of Northumberland.

Mr. Thoreſby alſo diſcovered the town of *Leeds* on a *ſtica* of Ethelred, for the reverſe being LEOFDES M, he writes upon it thus, 'Suppoſing the F redundant or deſigned for E, wanting only the *lineola* at the bottom, (an eaſy error in the bungling minters of thoſe ages) and it makes LEODES. *Leeds* 'was, without controverſy, a place much more eminent during 'the heptarchy, than many places that occur upon their 'monies: witneſs *Bede*, the venerable hiſtorian, who lived in 'this very century, and writes it likewiſe with an O (2).' This piece is a *ſtica*, and the names of places ſeldom or never occur on coins of that denomination; *Leof* is a common ſyllable in compound Saxon names; and *Leeds* is written *Loidis*, both in Bede's Original, and in king Ælfred's Saxon Verſion. I am the ſhorter on this piece, becauſe ſome Remarks have aforetime been made upon it in *the Series of Diſſertations*, p. 22. One ſees, methinks, in part, from theſe inſtances, what it was that induced our connoiſſeurs to fluctuate ſo much in their interpretation of M, MO, &c. as noted above; ſince taking the maſter's names for the names of places in certain pieces, they could not avoid explaining the abbreviations by *moneta* inſtead of *monetarius*, as this would not afford them in thoſe caſes any congruous ſenſe.

Mr. Walker eſteems a penny, which he falſly confers on Edward the Confeſſor, to come from St. Edmundſbury, becauſe the name of *Edmund* appears on the reverſe (3). But this is a coin of Edward the Elder, and conſequently was made long before the houſe at St. Edmundſbury was in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, as to be privileg'd with a mint (4), and therefore Edmund here is only the name of the king's minter.

(1) Reg. gen. de nom. virorum in Chron. Sax. p. 53. Thoreſby, Muſ. No. 77. 81. 800.
(2) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 341. (3) Walker in Camden, IV. 20.
(4) See the caſe of S. Edmundſbury coins above.

Permit

Permit me here, in the laſt place, to put the queſtion, whether theſe reflections, theſe criticiſms on the performances of our Engliſh Antiquaries on the Anglo-Saxon ſpecie, do not inforce a neceſſity of re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables with a new and enlarged Commentary, for the purpoſe, 1ſt, of appropriating the coins to their reſpective owners by certain pre-eſtabliſh'd rules, and upon better grounds, than has been hitherto done? A ſubject on which I could ſay much. 2dly, of explaining them more fully and minutely? and, 3dly, of rectifying the numerous and almoſt perpetual errors of the tabuliſts and ſcholiaſts? Certainly they do. And it were much to be wiſhed that for the honour and improvement of the Saxon Cabinet, ſome ſkilful and painful hand (for it would be a work of ſome pains and labour) could be perſuaded to undertake it. It would certainly give me great pleaſure, if the hints occaſionally dropt in this deſcant on Athelſtan's law, ſhould prove of any uſe, or afford any aſſiſtance to a deſign, which, if executed in a maſterly manner, could not fail of reflecting great honour upon the undertaker, and, I may add, upon our country in general.

Having thus finiſhed the Commentary on this famous Ordinance of king Athelſtan, ſo far as relates to the preſent ſubject, I ſhall leave the conſideration of the particulars, concerning the ſeveral other places of coinage contained in the liſt, unto thoſe who may be diſpoſed to examine and illuſtrate them, and proceed in the hiſtory. Only it is obvious to remark previouſly, that no penny of the biſhop of Rocheſter's has yet been ſeen; and, what is more extraordinary, not the leaſt notice of this prelate's mint, or of his right to a mint, is given, in the various exemplifications and enumerations of his privileges inſerted in that great volume, the *Regiſtrum Roffenſe* of the late learned and induſtrious Dr. John Thorpe (1). And, what may be thought equally ſtrange, there is no ſpecification in the ordinance of any mints allotted to the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, when at the firſt place there were no leſs than eight, and at the latter ſix, I preſume they enjoy'd none before the ordinance.

(1) Thorpe, Regiſtrum Roffenſe. Lond. 1769. fol.

That

That part of the ordinance, which reſpected the ſubjects, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the abbot of St. Auguſtine, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, ſeems to have continued in force but a ſhort time, not quite a century, but to have been repealed in the reign of king Ethelred the Second, who for ſome reaſon, now unknown, but with the conſent of the ſtates, revoked the privilege indulged to them by Athelſtan's law. The clauſe of revocation runs thus, 'Et nemo officinam aliquam moneta-'riam habeat præter regem (1);' or, as Brompton gives it, 'Nullus habeat aliquem monetarium niſi Rex (2).' By this act, the inferior mints were all in general reſumed into the hands of the crown; and 'tis certain that king Ethelred coined a great deal of ſpecie.

I hold it not improbable, that the Tower-weight, as alſo the the ſtandard, ſterling, whence, according to Mr. Somner (3), our Engliſh word *Sterling* is deriv'd, might commence at this time. The words of the Council of Ænham are, ꝥat an mynet gang. open ealle ðaȝ ðeode butan ælcon ſalȝe: *Ut una moneta eat per omnem hanc regionem præter falſam* (4), which I would render, *without any falſification*, an expreſſion applicable both to weight and ſtandard. Mr. Folkes, indeed, is of opinion, that the pound of the Tower of London was the *old* pound of the Saxon moneyers before the Conqueſt (5), and ſo it might be after Ethelred's reign, from which *æra* until the Conqueſt, the money might be coined at 22½ grains and leſs; but anciently the pound ſeems to have been heavier, for how otherwiſe can we account for ſome pennies of Ceolnoth, Ælfred, Edward the Elder, and Athelſtan, weighing 23 and 24 grains (6)? In ſhort, as the Tower-weight is allow'd to have taken place before the Norman Conqueſt, one knows not where ſo properly to place the introduction of it as this juncture. I ſpeak, you obſerve, with diffidence.

But howſoever this matter may turn out, our prelates ſeem ſoon to have recover'd their privilege, their juſt rights, founded upon long uſage and preſcription, as may be reaſonably inferred

(1) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 118. (2) Brompt. inter X Script. Col. 897.
(3) Somner, Gloſſ. ad X Script. v. Eſterlingus.
(4) Wilkinſii Concilia, p. 280. See alſo his Legg. A—Sax. p. 134.
(5) Folkes, Tables of Engliſh Silver Coins, p. 3.
(6) Stephen Martin Leake, Eſq. p. 18.

from

from the grant of the *Confeſſor* to the abbot of S. Edmundſbury, 'Et conceſſit etiam [Edwardus] dicto Edmundo monetarium 'ſive cuneum infra Bury (1),' as likewiſe from the mintage of the Peter-Pence, as they are called, at York, and of that curious Lincoln penny abovementioned, in that reign (2). Nay we find that Thomas, archbiſhop of York, (to ſay nothing here of Silveſter, abbot of St. Auguſtine, and the biſhops of Durham) was ſeized of his mints ſoon after the conqueſt; ſo that as there was no law in force againſt prelates after that event, there is good colour of reaſon for believing there was none before. As to archbiſhop Thomas, king Edward the Firſt, in his diſtreſs for money to ſupport himſelf and his army in his deſign againſt Wales, made a very ſtrict inquiſition into the abilities of his ſubjects, in order to a taxation: This was A. D. 1276 (3). And in two year's time a very oppreſſive ſtatute of *Quo Warranto* follow'd, to oblige thoſe who claimed any franchiſes or liberties to ſhew their title to them before the king's juſtices, or otherwiſe they ſhould become forfeited to the crown (4); and this act extended to the archbiſhops, as well as the ſuffragans, and lay-nobles. On this occaſion the archbiſhop of York pleaded, 8 Edw. I. 'That in the time of king Henry, ſon to 'the Conqueror, one *Odo*, ſherif of *Yorkſhire*, did hinder '*Gerard*, then archbiſhop of *York*, from holding pleas, and 'giving judgment in his court *De Monetariis*. The biſhop 'complained to the king, and ſhewed his ſeiſin, and the right 'of the church of S. *Peter*; whereupon the king did ſend his 'letters patents to the ſherif, the effect of which was, to will 'and command him that Gerard, archbiſhop, in the lands of 'his archbiſhopric, ſhould have pleas in his court *de monetariis 'ſuis*, of thiefs, and of all others, *as* Thomas *archbiſhop* (5) *had 'in the time of his father or brother*. . . . . And the biſhop ſaid, 'that he and his predeceſſors had *always* had the ſame mints 'as he claimed them. Upon this iſſue was joined, and the 'jury found for the biſhop, and judgment given that the biſhop 'ſhould be without day (6).'

(1) Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Cuneus. This indeed was the abbot's firſt licence, but Edward would never have granted it, had it not been then uſual for prelates to coin.
(2) See above. (3) Barrington, Obſerv. on ancient Statutes, p. 88.
(4) Ibidem, p. 93. (5) In the beginning of the Conqueror's reign.
(6) Drake, Eboracum, p. 542.

Mr.

Mr. Folkes mentions a coin of the earl of Pembroke's minted by Henry de Blois, biſhop of Wincheſter, in king Stephen's time, with a profile head and a croſier (1); and the piece is engraved both in the earl's tables (2), and by Mr. Folkes (3), as deſervedly it ought, being certainly extremely rare and valuable. The elegant and judicious Lord Lyttelton, in the *Life and Age of King Henry the Second*, obſerves, it was probably coined at one of the royal mints (4); but that I think may be doubted; the head indeed is apparently the king's, and it would have been moſt enormous for the biſhop, even amidſt the irregularities of this reign, to have placed his own head upon it; but then, methinks, the croſier, the prelate's name put on the obverſe, and the king's poſtponed to the reverſe, all ſeem to betoken it to be a prelatical piece iſſued from the biſhop's mint (5). 'Tis true one cannot by any means approve of this unnatural heterogeneous mixture of the croſier and the crown on this piece; for though the regal and ſacerdotal powers were often anciently united in one perſon, as has been ſhewn by various authors, yet a combination of thoſe ſymbols, in this reign, could tend to nothing but to breed confuſion, as we ſee it miſled this learned peer.

To return; As our metropolitans appear to have had their moneyers, and to have wrought their mints, down to the æra of the Conqueſt, though in a limited and reſtrained manner, ſo as to make it difficult now to diſtinguiſh their pieces from thoſe ſtricken at Canterbury by the crown; our next ſubjects of enquiry muſt be, *when*, and whether *ever* they were formally deprived of their right, a point of ſome difficulty, as is acknowledged by Mr. Somner (6), whether they ever regained it, by grants or otherwiſe; and laſtly, upon what footing the the archbiſhops, Warham and Cranmer, enjoy'd their mints in the later times.

Silveſter, abbot of St. Auguſtine, near Canterbury, died A. D. 1151, in king Stephen's time, and the king ſeized the

(1) Folkes, Tables of Silver Coins, p. 5. (2) Num. Pembr. IV. 23.
(3) Folkes, Ibidem, Plate I.
(4) Lord Lyttelton, Life and Age of K. Henry II. Vol. II. p. 491. Edit. 8vo.
(5) 'Tis not known how the biſhop of Wincheſter came by his privilege; by charter, or uſurpation. (6) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. p. 65.

tempo-

temporalities of that opulent foundation, as uſual. The abbot was in poſſeſſion of his mint at that time; but upon this occaſion, his ſucceſſors were irrecoverably diveſted of their privilege; for when the king reſtored the temporalities of that houſe to Silveſter's ſucceſſor, he retained the mint in his own hands. But we ſhall inſert an account of this tranſaction, as it is curious, and ſo pertinent to our ſubject, from William Thorne (1).

'Memorandum quod iſte Silveſter Abbas et eciam *multi* '*Prædeceſſores ejus* habuerunt cuneum (2) monetæ *in Civitate* '*Cantuariæ* ſicut per Inquiſitionem factam per Arnoldum Ferre, 'Wulſinum mercere, et alios (3), qui jurati dixerunt quod 'quidem Abbas S. Auguſtini, Silveſter nomine habuit in civi-'tate Cantuariæ cuneum monetæ et Elverdus Porrere cuſtodivit 'cuneum illum ex parte illius Abbatis, et quando ille Abbas 'obiit ſeiſita fuit Abbatia in manu domini regis una cum præ-'dicto cuneo, nec unquam aliquis Abbas qui ei ſucceſſit illius 'cunei recuperavit ſeiſinam. Et fuit iſta Inquiſitio facta tem-'poribus Hen. Secundi Regis, et Regis Richardi filii ejuſ-'dem (4).'

But before this date, Henry duke of Normandy, afterwards king Henry the Second, on his landing, A. 1149, 'Plurimo-'rum monetam caſſavit (5),' which ſhews, that the ruling powers had it in view to controul and ſuppreſs the inferior mint offices, as opportunity ſhould ſerve. Wherefore afterwards, A. 1153, when articles were agreed upon between king Stephen and duke Henry, it was covenanted, 'Regalia paſſim 'a proceribus uſurpata, Rex in ſua recipiet:' *That the king* [*Stephen*] *ſhould be reinſtated in all the regalities uſurped in different parts by the nobles* (6). And accordingly Henry the Second, on his acceſſion, *novam fecit monetam, quæ ſola recepta erat et accepta in regno* (7). This was a general, and even a *neceſſary*

(1) It occurs alſo in Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. Append. p. 8. but is there faultily printed.

(2) A mint, not *coinage*, as Mr. Somner, in the Gloſſary, expounds it. It ſignifies alſo the puncheon or die, ſo named from its figure like a wedge or cone, *conus*, as it is called in Brompton, Col. 898, where ſee the Gloſſary. Hence comes our Engliſh word *coin*. See the ſame Gloſſary.

(3) *Patet* is omitted. (4) Thorne inter X Script. Col. 1816.

(5) R. Hoveden, p. 490. (6) M. Paris, p. 86. (7) R. Hoveden, p. 491.

measure, because the encroachments of the nobility on the royal prerogative, in the reign of Stephen, had been, in respect of the mint, most intolerable; 'Erant in Anglia,' says William of Newburg, 'quodammodo tot reges, vel potius tyranni, quot 'domini Castellorum, *habentes singuli percussuram proprii numis-* 'matis, et potestatem subditis dicendi jus (1).' Mr. Camden accordingly tells us, that Henry the Second suppressed the mints of the earls and barons (2). And I conceive that about this time, or perhaps before, upon some such occasion as offer'd on the demise of Silvester, abbot of St. Augustine, the mint of the abbot of St. Edmundsbury was resumed by the crown (3). If so, we may conclude that the private mints in general were suppressed at this time. But that some prelates had their offices re-granted, will appear in the sequel.

Presuming then, that our metropolitans continued to exercise their mints as lông as the abbots of St. Augustine, as no doubt they did, yet they certainly were disseiz'd of them on king Henry's accession, A. 1154; for though Hoveden's words concerning proceedings in the year 1149, may leave room for the archbishop to retain his privilege, when others were deprived of theirs, 'Et fecit monetam novam, quam vocabant monetam 'ducis; et non tantum ipse, sed omnes potentes, tam episcopi, 'quam comites et barones, suam faciebant monetam. Sed ex 'quo dux ille venit, *plurimorum monetam cassavit*;' whereby, as not *all* the bishops and nobles had their specie decried and reprobated, but only *plurimi*, the archbishops of Canterbury and York were probably amongst those whose moneys were still suffered to pass; yet in 1154, the primate of Canterbury certainly lost his privilege in that *general* resumption. This is plain from the term *reddidit* in the instrument which I am going to produce; for I shall now shew, that the privilege was restored to our archbishop by king Richard the First, and that the re-grant was confirmed by king John, in the first year of his reign.

(1) Gul. Neubrig. See also above, p. 11. Mr. Barrington observes from Boulainvilliers, that before Phil. le Bel, who acceded A. 1286, the great lords in France coined in their own seigneuries. Barrington, p. 149.

(2) Camden, Remains, p. 184.

(3) Anselm, abbot of this house, died A. 1148. Willis, Mitred Abbeys, p. 85.

'Johannes

'Johannes Dei Gratia, &c. Sciatis nos conceſſiſſe et præſenti
'carta noſtra confirmaſſe Deo et Eccleſiæ Chriſti Cant. et vene-
'rabili Patri noſtro *Huberto* (1) Cant. Archiepiſcopo, et *omni-*
'*bus ſucceſſoribus ſuis* ſibi canonice ſubſtituend *tres monetarius*
'*cum tribus cuneis* (2), ad monetam fabricandum *in Civitate*
'Cantuariæ *perpetuo* habendos, quos dominus Rex Ric. frater
'noſter *reddidit* bone memoriæ *Baldwino Cant. Archiepiſcopo, et*
'*ſucceſſoribus ſuis*, et carta ſua confirmavit. Quare volumus
'et firmiter præcipimus, quod Prædict. Archiep. H. et *ſucceſ-*
'*ſores ſui*, habeant prædictos monetarios cum prædictis cuneis,
'ita libere, honorifice et quiete, ſicut aliquis prædeceſſorum
'ſuorum liberius et quietius monetarios ſuos cum cuneis ſuis
'habuit. Hiis teſtibus, &c. datum, &c. apud Cenoman. XXIX
'die Septemb. anno primo regni noſtri (3).'

It appears to me, from the words of king John, in the ſixth year of his reign, that our archbiſhop was the firſt prelate that regained his right, after the year 1154, though others were afterwards re-inveſted with theirs; for the king, ſpeaking in that year of his exchange, ſays, 'Item ſi quis cambiaverit de-
'narium vel argentum alii [f. alibi] quam ad Cambium
'noſtrum, *ſalvo Cambio Domini Cant. apud Cant.* tam Cambiens
'quam recipiens cum eo, quod cambiaverit, capiantur (4).'
Mints and exchanges are relatives, wherefore theſe words ſeem clearly to prove, that at that time, the ſixth of John, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was the only prelate that enjoy'd his mint; for ſurely if others had been allow'd to poſſeſs mints and exchanges, their's would have been excepted, as well as the archbiſhop's.

The archbiſhops of York alſo, who loſt their privilege on the general act of reſumption, A. 1154, had it reſtored to them 2 Henry III. or A. D. 1217.

'Rex Vicecom. *Ebor.* ſalutem. Mandamus tibi firmiter præ-
'cipientes quod facias venerabilem Patrem noſtrum Dominum
'W. *Ebor.* Archiep. bene et libere habere cuneos ſuos (5) mo-

(1) Hubert Walter.
(2) Concerning the number of Moneyers here granted, ſee above, p. 19.
(3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 355. (4) Wilkins, Ibidem, p. 360.
(5) Two or three. See above.

'netæ noſtræ in civitate noſt. *Ebor. ſicut Prædeceſſores ſui Ar-*
'*chiepiſcopi Ebor.* eos melius liberius *habuerunt.* Salvo nobis
'jure noſtro quod ad nos inde pertinet (1).'

There is a reference here, you obſerve, to the old uſage and cuſtom of theſe primates (2); ſo that this was only a renewal or reſtoration of their rights. However, upon the foundation of this re-grant, the primates of York continued coining till 8 Edw. I. when archbiſhop William Wickwain pleaded on a *Quo Warranto*, in reſpect of his two mints, 'That he and his 'predeceſſors had been in ſeiſin of theſe two mints time out of 'mind, &c.' and fully made good his claim (3). Nay, there is an half-groat of Henry the VIth, or rather of Henry the VIIth, with two keys, ſuppoſed, with reaſon, to be the offſpring of the archbiſhop of York's mint (4); and there are other coins of the like ſtamp, temp. Henry VII. (5).

The biſhops of Durham coined money after the Conqueſt, and loſing their privilege A. 1154, had it *renewed* to them by king Richard the Firſt. For Roger Hoveden writes on the year 1196, 'Eodem anno Richardus Rex Angliæ dedit Phi-'lippo Dunelmenſi electo licentiam fabricandi monetam in civi-'tate ſua Dunelmenſi, quod prædeceſſoribus ſuis a multo tem-'pore retro (6) non erat permiſſum (7).' The palatines coined money in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. (8).

To bring all theſe matters together; king Stephen himſelf honoured the church and biſhop of Lichfield, with, what appears to be a *new* privilege in reſpect of that ſee, a mint at Lichfield.

'Sciatis me dediſſe et conſſiſſe in perpetuam elemoſinam Deo 'et eccl. S. Ceddæ de Lichfield et Waltero Epiſcopo Cov. et 'Succeſſoribus ſuis in perpetuum, unum cuneum habendum 'apud Lichfield (9).'

This caſe was very particular; the mints were in many hands in king Stephen's reign, but all, it ſeems, were not

(1) Drake, Eborac. in Append. p. CVI. (2) See what is ſaid above, p. 84.
(3) See above, p. 84. (4) Drake, Eboracum, p. CVII.
(5) Ibidem, and the Plates to Mr. Folkes's Tables, No. VI.
(6) I ſuppoſe from the year 1154. (7) Rog. Hoveden, p. 768.
(8) Plates to Mr. Folkes's Tables, No. V. and VI.
(9) Dugdale, Monaſt. Tom. III.

uſurpers,

uſurpers, but ſome had legal grants or patents for their practices. Stephen here impowers Walter Durdent to coin money at Lichfield; now Walter was made biſhop of that ſee, A. 1149, and his mint was ſuppreſſed A. 1154; ſo that it may be juſtly doubted whether biſhop Walter ever ſet a mint a going, though he had a grant for it. And by the beſt enquiries, which I have continued to make for many years, ever ſince I had the honor of being collated to a ſtall in that church, by the favor of his grace, the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1757, I cannot learn that ſo much as a ſingle penny of biſhop Walters has ever been found there.

But even after the general ſuſpenſion of the mints in 1154, our kings would ſometimes paſs *new* grants for coining, as well as revive old ones: This appears from the caſe of the biſhop of Chicheſter (1), which I regard as an *entire new licence*, and not a revival of an obſolete or diſcontinued right. However, no coins from this ſee have ever yet appeared. 'Tis alſo remarked by Mr. Camden, that even Henry II. granted a liberty of coining to *certain cities and abbies* (2).

We learn from the various particulars above ſtated, that our prelates, at leaſt ſome of them, were very anciently favoured with indulgences in reſpect of coinage; that their priſtine rights were frequently *renew'd* to them by grants and patents (3); and that even as late as the reigns of Stephen and John, ſome few *new patents of the ſort* were iſſued. But I cannot diſcover that the lay-peers ever had the privilege of coining after the year 1154. Indeed it is a moot point with me, whatever it may be with others, whether the lay-nobles were *ever* poſſeſſed of any *legal power* of coining money; encroachments undoubtedly were made on the royal prerogative, by many of them, in the diſorderly reign of king Stephen, and ſomething of the ſame kind might evene in the diſtractions of the Northumbrian kingdom, as remarked above, but I have ſeen no evidence to convince me that the ealdormen, or other great men,

(1) Blount's Νομο λε Εικὸν. v. Cuneus. (2) Camden's Remains, p. 184.
(3) Some, however, ſeem never to have had their rights reſtored, as the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the abbots of S. Auguſtine and S. Edmundſbury.

amongſt

amongſt the Saxons, were ever properly authorized to coin. But I go on;

Archbiſhop William Warham actually coined money at Canterbury, as is fully evidenced by our plate. Now this primate had no particular grant for the purpoſe that we know of, and conſequently acted upon the footing of the royal conceſſions of Richard I. and king John, reported above: He only revived and exerted an ancient obſolete right. Whence it ſhould ſeem, that if we have no pieces of our metropolitans from the 1ſt of John to the incumbency of archbiſhop Warham, it was not becauſe the intermediate primates had been deſpoiled of their right by any legal authority, but only had voluntarily deſiſted from the exerciſe of it; that the privilege of the mint continued dormant, or in abeyance, and might be reviv'd and reſum'd at pleaſure, as it was by archbiſhop Warham, and afterwards by archbiſhop Cranmer.

The archbiſhops of York ſtood upon the ſame grounds, viz. the grant of 2 Hen. III. and their own practices conſequent thereupon; and therefore the charge againſt cardinal Wolſey, that when archbiſhop of York he placed the initials of his name and the cardinal's hat on the king's coin (1), was perfectly frivolous, as theſe are but the neceſſary diſtinctions of his mint; and the coin, which bore the king's name and effigies, was evidently the king's money, and not his. Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves very juſtly, that Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lee, archbiſhop of York, and Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, all of them coined money afterwards, 'and the practice was ſo 'far from being illegal, that when an act of parliament pre-'ſcribed to the royal mint in the Tower, eſpecial proviſion was 'made that thereby no prejudice ſhould accrue to the coiners 'of York, Dureſme, and Canterbury (2).' Mr. Drake adds, that archbiſhop Lee would probably have put the hat on his coin, had he been a cardinal (3); and we may ſay the ſame of Cranmer and Tunſtal. In brief, Wolſey did not make money either as cardinal or legate, but as archbiſhop of York,

(1) Nicholſon, Hiſt. Libr. p. 263. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, in Collections, p. 178.

(2) Nicholſon, Ibid. (3) Drake, Eboracum, p. CVIII.

appre-

apprehending he might innocently do it as a right, by grant and antient uſage, appurtenant to his ſee; nay, 'tis obſervable, that this article, in his impeachment, does not proceed upon the *illegality* of his practice in coining money, for the right of doing this ſeems to be admitted, but on his pompous and preſumptuous mind, as it is there termed, in joining and imprinting the cardinal's hat under the king's arms in the king's groats made at York; which is called a *novel practice* indeed, but is not repreſented as implying any thing criminal in the eye of law. The article, in one word, was a mere malicious inſinuation.

The hiſtory we intended here ends and determines; for we find not that any of the ſubſequent metropolitans, after Cranmer, ever attempted to ſtrike money. There is a particular or two, however, concerning theſe ancient and metropolitical and the other inferior mints, which, before we take a final leave of the ſubject, may merit a few words; but they ſhall be handled as briefly as poſſible.

There is a place called the Mint-yard at Canterbury, which ſome may be apt to fancy was the archbiſhop's office in the ancient times of which we have been ſpeaking; but, according to the Canterbury antiquarians (1), theſe buildings, which belonged formerly to the priory of Chriſt Church, and not to the archbiſhop, and indeed compoſed the almonry, were not appropriated to the purpoſe of coining money, till after the diſſolution of that monaſtery by king Henry VIII. It conſequently was the king's office, and not the archbiſhop's, that was kept there. There is no gueſſing now where the archbiſhop's mints were, in thoſe early days, only that in general they were ſomewhere *in the city*, and not within the precincts of the palace, as we have ſhewn above (2).

2. A court *de monetariis* always accompanied theſe mints, though they belonged to ſubjects (3). In theſe courts enquiries were made concerning all miſdemeanours, and particularly

(1) Somner, Antiq. Cant. p. 65. 113. Battely Cantuar. Sacr. p. 97.
(2) See above, p. 45. alibi.
(3) See what is ſaid above, p. 84. on the court of Gerard, archbiſhop of York. Alſo Nicholſon Hiſt. Libr. p. 263.

of debaſement, and deficiency in weight, offences, in which the laws were extravagantly ſevere (1).

Mints and changes, 3dly, are relatives; and an order was expreſly made by king Henry I. that no perſon ſhould preſume to change money but the mint-maſters, and he was only to do it in his own diſtrict: 'Præterea defendo ne aliquis monetarius 'denarios mutet, niſi in comitatu ſuo. . . . Et nullus ſit auſus 'cambire denarios niſi monetarius (2).' The archbiſhop's exchange at Canterbury is particularly mentioned in the charter of John, adduced above (3). It was kept apart from the mint, as Mr. Somner obſerves, in regard of the king's exchange there (4), but in what part of the city, 'tis now impoſſible to inveſtigate.

4. I have a ſuſpicion, and I advance it in no other ſhape than ſuch, that the money of our prelates had only a currency in their reſpective cities, their diſtricts or liberties; as if it was chiefly allow'd to be made for the convenience of the citizens; at leaſt this appears to have been the caſe ſince the reign of king Stephen, as I collect from the letters patents of king John, paſſed in favor of the biſhop of Chicheſter, in his 6th year, where the words are, 'Quod habeat cuneum ſuum in civitate 'Ciceſtriæ, Et quod currat (5) donec noſtri *in eadem civitate* '*currant*, Et tunc unà cum illis currat (6),' and ſeem to imply that this was the caſe with the *Tokens* of the 17th century, and, as Olearius informs us, of the braſs money coined by the cities in Perſia (7). Thus the minters were reſtrained above from practiſing exchange any where but within their reſpective counties. The Reader will pleaſe to judge for himſelf.

However, we are aſſur'd, 5thly, that puncheons or dies were ſent from London (8) for the uſe of the inferior or country mints, and that a duty, called probably *Cuneagium*, or

(1) Above, p. 78.
(2) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 305. from the red book of the Exchequer.
(3) Page 89. (4) Somner, Antiq. Cant. p. 64.
(5) *Ejus nummus*, or ſomething of like import, ſeems to be omitted.
(6) Blount's Νομο λε Εικὸν, v. Cuneus.
(7) Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 136. and Domeſday Book, cited below. Alſo Maitland, p. 947.
(8) Olearius's Voyages, p. 300.

Cunagium,

Cunagium, was paid for them to the king. Thus we have it in Domeſday Book, 'Tit. Wireceſtre, quando moneta vertebatur, 'quiſque monetarius dabat 20 ſol. ad Londinum *pro cunois* '*monetæ recipiendis* (1).' And ſo Sir Matthew Hales tells us, that 'upon every change of the coin, by the king's proclama-'tion, there iſſued out a mandate to the treaſurer and barons 'to deliver a ſtamp over to theſe private mints, to be uſed by 'the ſeveral proprietors of them (2).' The king delivered the ſtamps, and the ſpecie is expreſly called the *king's money* (3); and, I apprehend, it is to the duty paid for the ſtamps that thoſe words in the precept of 2 Hen. III. concerning the arch-biſhop of York's mint, inſerted above, alludes, where the king ſays, '*Salvo nobis jure noſtro* quod ad nos inde pertinet.' But you ſhall hear two very eminent antiquaries, biſhop Nicholſon and Mr. Camden, on this head: 'There's another memorable paſſage,' ſays biſhop Nicholſon, 'in one of king Henry the 'Firſt's own ordinances, relating to this ſubject: *Monetagium* '*commune quod capiebatur per civitates vel comitatus, quod non* '*fuit tempore Edwardi Regis, hoc ne à modo fiat omnino defendo* '(4). R. Weſtcot (or rather Ad. Littleton) (5) tranſlates '*monetagium commune* by theſe words, *the common duty of money* '*or coinage* (6); and, in his notes, gueſſes that the country-'mints paid ſome ſuch *duty* to the king's chief mint. He 'proves, from Domeſday-Book, that Wincheſter (7) paid 'twenty ſhillings for each minter, *pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis*, 'that is, for their dies and ſtamps (8). Mr. Camden writes, 'that king Henry II. graunted liberty of coyning to certaine 'cities and abbeies, allowing them one ſtaple, and two pun-

(1) Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Cuneus. (2) Sir Matthew Hales's Sherifs Accounts.
(3) Clauſ. 2 Hen. III. in 6. in Drake's *Eboracum*, p. cvi.
(4) Vid. Cart. Hen. I. (e Matt. Paris) à Joh. Seld. Jan. Ang. lib. 2. p. 80. See M. Paris, p. 56. Ric. Hagelſted. inter x Script. Col. 311.
(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 180.
(6) Quære though, whether he is not miſtaken in this, for *Monetagium* in Du Freſne, Col. 1010, is rather a payment to the ſovereign to induce him not to alter his money, which was never done but with loſs to the ſubject. See alſo Wilkins in Gloſſ. ad Legg A—Sax. in voce.
(7) Quære, whether for Wireceſtre above, we ſhould not read *Wineceſtre*.
(8) Nicholſon, Hiſt. Libr. p. 251.

'cheons at a rate, with certain reſtrictions.' And again, that Thomas, ſon of *Otho Cuneator*, ſirnamed *Fitz Othes*, 'married 'one of the coheires of *Beauchamp* baron of Bedford, was lord 'of Mendleſham in Suffolke, and held in fee to make *the* '*coyning ſtamps for all England: which office deſcended* by an 'heire generall to the baron *Boutetort* (1), from whom, &c.' (2). The iſſuing of ſtamps from London, and the payment of a duty for them by the country mints, was the cuſtom, it ſeems, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, William the Conqueror, and in that of Henry I. and there was an officer, or patentee, who in theſe times had an excluſive right of making the ſtamps. And this was an excellent method of providing for the ſameneſs of manner and uniformity of type in the king's money, notwithſtanding the great number of mints diſtributed in different places over the whole kingdom; and the crown, at the ſame time, ſuffered leſs detriment and loſs in privileging ſo many mints.

I query, ſixthly, whether ſome portion of the profits of theſe private offices was not paid likewiſe annually to the crown under the name of *Monetagium*; we learn from M. Du Freſne that ſome ſuch uſage there was in foreign parts (3); but I muſt confeſs, I have not ſeen any explicit evidence of it in this kingdom; it was thought proper, however, to mention it as a particular to be attended to in time coming. When the mints were become the king's own, as in the year 1154, he no doubt had a ſhare of the profits (4), and it became a branch of the royal revenue.

7thly, The country mints, it is intimated, did not coin halfpence and farthings after theſe began to be coined, but only pennies (5). The caſe indeed might be ſo at firſt, but it certainly was altered afterwards, ſince both Warham and Cranmer ſtruck halfpence. The inferior mints, however, were obliged to return an account to London of the quan-

(1) See alſo Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 135.
(2) Camden, Remains, p. 184. (3) Du Freſne, Gloſſ. in voce.
(4) Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 141.
(5) Pinchbeck in Battely's Append. to Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 135.

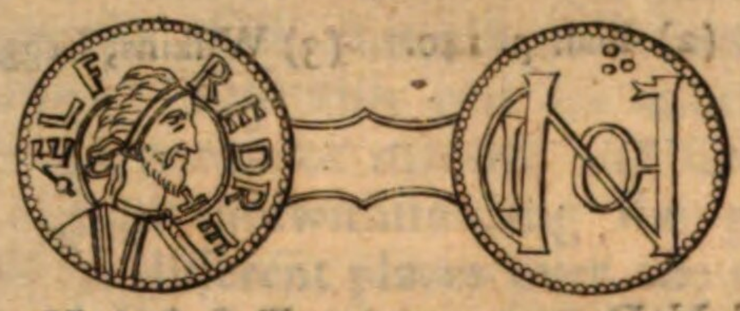
tity of ſpecie they had wrought with every die (1). And it appears that a great deal of money was coined at the ſingle mint of St. Edmundſbury, after the mint there became the king's office (2). I obſerve, laſtly, that the king's mints in cities and boroughs, were under the conduct or ſuperintendence, in ſome meaſure, of the geneſa, or port-reeve, as is very evident from the laws of king Cnut (3), where this officer appears to have had a power in his city ſimilar to that of a warden.

(1) Battely, Ibid. (2) Ibid. p. 140. (3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 134.

END OF THE ESSAY.

DISSERTATION I.

On a fine Penny of King ÆLFRED THE GREAT, with his Head.



MR. Speed has delineated in his hiſtory a very fine penny of king Ælfred, and indeed one of the moſt elegant pieces in all the Saxon ſeries. It was then a part of the Cottonian cabinet, but is now unhappily loſt, and does not appear in the Britiſh Muſeum. There is on one ſide, the king's head, on the other, a monogram or cypher; and in the following Diſſertation I propoſe to conſider both ſides, as well for the aſcertaining the age of the piece and the prince to whom it belongs, as the further illuſtration of it. 'Tis the 9th coin in the firſt table of Sir Andrew Fountaine, who copied it from Speed, as likewiſe did Mr. Walker, in the Latin verſion of Sir John Spelman's Life of King Ælfred, and biſhop Gibſon, in Camden's Britannia, Tab. I. We are ſure Speed had it from the Cotton Collection, from the direct teſtimony of Mr. Selden, who, after giving a print of this coin, amongſt others, ſays, 'Ubi [i. e. in Biblioth. Cottoniana] 'etiam archetypa ſervantur unde jam efficta heic numiſmata 'ſumpta (1).'

Authors are not by any means agreed to which Ælfred this penny belongs, there being two of that name; one, who is ſaid to have been a learned prince, king of Deira, A. 666, who retired, A. 670, was reſtored and made king of North-

(1) Selden, Titles of Honour, p. 171. Edit. 1631.

umberland,

umberland, A. 685, and died A. 705; the other, Ælfred the Great, monarch of England, who acceded A. 872, and died A. 900.

'Tis a matter of conſequence that coins, whether Saxon or others, ſhould be appropriated to their true owners; for till then they muſt loſe more than half their uſe, as very little that is certain and ſatisfactory can be learnt from them. Mr. Selden, for inſtance, collects the form of the diadem worn by the excellent monarch, Ælfred the Great, from the obverſe of this coin (1), but his obſervation would be entirely groundleſs, ſhould the piece prove to be the property of any other ſovereign.

Speed gives the coin to Ælfred the Great, and is followed therein by Mr. Selden (2), Mr. Thwaites (3), and Mr. Hearne (4); but on the other hand, Mr. Walker (5), Mr. Thoreſby (6), and Sir Andrew Fountaine, all incline to confer it upon Ælfred, king of Northumberland. This laſt triumvirate were moſt converſant in medallic affairs, and the moſt experienced connoiſſeurs, wherefore they ought in reaſon to be the beſt judges of this controverſy; but one objection there is to their opinion ſo obvious, and at the ſame time ſo forcible, that I ſhall here mention it directly, viz. that we have no piece, either of the heptarchical, or the prelatical tribe, (for the monarchical is out of the queſtion) that is ſo old as the year 705, when Ælfred king of Northumberland died; for which reaſon alone, were there no others to induce, I ſhould lean to Mr. Speed's party, and be for aſcribing a piece, ſo terſe as this, and ſo far exceeding the taſte of the rough Northumbrians in that unpoliſh'd age, when Ælfred king of Deira flouriſhed, to the renowned monarch king Ælfred, in whoſe time the arts and ſciences began to dawn. But there are other concurring reaſons that may drive one into this way of thinking.

As firſt, that the countenance of the prince is like that of the great Ælfred, of Weſſex. Walker indeed remarks, that

(1) Selden, l. c. (2) Selden, l. c.
(3) Thwaites, Notæ in A—Sax. Nummos.
(4) Hearne, in Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, p. 164.
(5) Walker in Lat. Verſion of Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, and the laſt Edition of Camden. (6) Thoreſby, in Camden.

the head upon the coin does *not correſpond* to that of the Weſt Saxon; but 'tis certain that people judge very differently of likeneſſes. However, I will not pretend to ſay, that one ought to lay much ſtreſs on ſuch an argument as this, did it ſtand alone, on account of the difference of men's judgments in reſpect of likeneſs; as likewiſe on account of the infant ſtate which the arts of painting and engraving were in, when this coin was minted (1), but it may have its weight nevertheleſs in conjunction with the reſt. It muſt be confeſs'd too, that this being the only piece yet publiſh'd, that exhibits the head of Ælfred the Great, no judgment can be form'd from the coins; but then there are other methods of information: Speed's type, which is authentic, has a ſufficient reſemblance and correſpondence, in my eye at leaſt, with the form of this king's viſage repreſented in an ancient painting in Univerſity College, Oxford, in two old ſtone buſts at Brazen-Noſe, in the window of All-Souls, and in the church of St. Alban's (2). And accordingly I find that Mr. Hearne, in the place above cited, infers, from the ſimilitude between the coin and thoſe ancient portraits, that it ought to be aſcribed to Ælfred the Great, in preference to the other Ælfred of Northumberland. I will note here what our hiſtorians relate concerning the handſome perſon of Ælfred the Great. Florence of Worceſter tells us, 'Cunctis fratribus forma decentior, vultu, verbis, atque 'moribus gratioſior videbatur (3).' Matthew of Weſtminſter has much the ſame (4), as likewiſe Aſſer Menevenſis (5), whom the foregoing authors in a great meaſure tranſcribe. This great prince had ſo great a regard for his perſon, that when, on a certain occaſion, he pray'd to have a diſtemper chang'd, he deſired to have ſuch an one, 'ut corporaliter exterius illa infirmitas non appareret, ne deſpectus et inutilis eſſet (6).'

2dly, The uſe of cyphers or monograms was entirely unknown in the weſtern parts, at leaſt upon the coins, till the

(1) Walker in Camden, Tab. I. No. 24. IV. No. 1. 5. 8. 16.

(2) Tab. I. & II. in Walker's Lat. Verſion of Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, and in the excellent edition of Aſſer Menev. by Mr. Wiſe, in frontiſpiece. Alſo p. 1, and p. 164.

(3) Florent. Vigorn. p. 587. (4) Matth. Weſtm. p. 167.

(5) Aſſer Menev. p. 16. (6) Florent. Vig. p. 558. M. Weſtm. p. 167.

time

time of Charlemagne; we have no example of any that are older than that emperor, who ſucceeded his father A. 768, and died A. 815, but they are frequent upon his coins (1). 'Tis reported of this great emperor of the Franks, that he made uſe of a monogram in ſigning all kinds of inſtruments, and likewiſe cauſed his cypher to be engraved upon a chalice, which Lewis le Debonnaire, his ſon, afterwards gave to St. Medard. 'From that time,' ſays my author, 'they began, in imitation 'of the emperor, to uſe cyphers in France more generally. 'Eginhard relates, that Charlemagne could not write, that he 'tried in vain to learn, after he was advanced in years, and 'that this was the reaſon that he uſed a monogram, which was 'eaſy to make, when he had occaſion to ſign any thing, 'ut imperitiam hanc honeſto ritu ſuppleret, monogrammatis 'uſum, loco proprii ſigni, invexit. A great many biſhops of 'thoſe times were forced to make uſe of a monogram for the 'ſame reaſon (2).' Eginhard further informs us concerning this emperor, 'Amabat peregrinos, et eorum ſuſcipiendorum 'magnam habebat curam, adeo ut eorum multitudo non ſolum 'palatio, verum etiam regno non immerito videretur oneroſa; '*He was fond of ſtrangers, and took great care to have them pro-* '*perly received, inſomuch that the great number of them became a* '*burthen not only to the court, but alſo to the kingdom* (3).' Amongſt the reſt that flock'd to the emperor's court, was Egbert the Great, the firſt Engliſh monarch, who liv'd twelve years with him (4); and probably when he returned from his court, which was in the year 800, he brought along with him into England this method of writing by cyphers, which is firſt ſeen upon his coins (5). If cyphers then were not introduced into this kingdom till the year 800, a coin with a monogram upon its poſtic, like this of ours, cannot reaſonably be aſcribed to any of the heptarchical princes; or, in other words, can never appertain to Ælfred of Northumberland, but muſt of neceſſity belong to Ælfred the monarch. This, methinks, is a caſe clear enough, and yet Mr. Walker manages it ſo, as to draw an argument from the monogram in favour of Ælfred of North-

(1) M. Le Blanc, p. 90. (2) Le Blanc, l. c. Pere Daniel, Tom. I. p. 515.
(3) Eginhard, Vit. Car. M. p. 110. (4) Rapin, Vol. I. p. 62.
(5) Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VIII.

umberland:

umberland: Theſe are his words, 'He ſeems by the cypher 'or monogram on the reverſe, to have been the king of North-'umberland (the face not correſponding to that of Ælfred the 'Weſt Saxon). He murthered his true and lawful prince, 'A. 765, and himſelf was expelled alſo. He is ſaid to have 'been very learned: to ſhew which, it may be, he ſtamped 'that monogram on the reverſe: (after the example of divers 'Conſtantinopolitan emperors, but not after thoſe of the Franks) 'which was begun by Charles the Great, &c.' This paſſage is certainly very perplexed; for firſt, the ſhort hiſtory which the learned author here gives of the Northumbrian Ælfred, belongs to Alred, who put Mollon-Adelwald to death, A. 765, and not to Ælfred, who being the natural ſon of Oſwy, was aſſociated by him in the kingdom, and, after ſome turns of fortune, died poſſeſſed of the throne. The occaſion of this error was, I conceive, the name of Ælfred being ſpelt by Florence of Worceſter, Alhfridus, which comes very near to Alhredus, as the other prince is called by that hiſtorian. In the next place, I do not underſtand how Charles the Great could begin to uſe monograms, when the Conſtantinopolitan emperors are acknowledged to have had them before; if he meant to ſay, that Charlemagne *began them in the Weſt*, this will not very well conſiſt with this fact, whether we underſtand Mr. Walker as ſpeaking of Ælfred or Alred, for they were both of them before Charlemagne. Further, let the Northumbrian princes, either of them or both, be as learned as you pleaſe, I cannot admit that the Weſt Saxon Ælfred, who was one of the beſt ſcholars of his time, came behind them in the leaſt: But the greateſt misfortune of all is, that the origine of cyphers in the Weſt, being owing to a perſon that could not write, is itſelf an argument rather of illiteracy than of learning; and this cypher, under preſent conſideration, containing, as we apprehend, and ſhall evince in the ſequel, the name of the place of coinage, is rather the act and contrivance of the mint-maſter, than of the prince, for which reaſon there is no force at all in this gentleman's argument from the great learning of the Northumbrian Ælfred.

Another, no contemptible, method of inveſtigating the true owner of this coin, is thirdly, from the place where it was minted.

minted. Thus Mr. Walker, thinking he diſcern'd ſome part of the word *Northumbriæ* in the ligature on the reverſe, aſcribed it on that account, in conjunction with other reaſons, to Ælfred the learned king of that province (1). On the other hand, thoſe gentlemen who conceive this piece to have been ſtruck at Norwich, and do interpret the monogram in that manner, are inclined for that reaſon to give it to Ælfred the Great; ſo Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Hearne. The argument is equally concluſive either way; for ſhould it have been minted any where in the northern parts, belonging to the kingdom of Northumberland, an Antiquarian may reaſonably conclude it belong'd to a prince of that nation; for though Ælfred the Great might be *in effect* ſovereign of that kingdom, yet there is no proof that either he, or the monarchs his predeceſſors, ever coined any money there. So on the contrary, ſhould the coin prove to have been made in any town within the ſouthern tract of this iſland, where Ælfred of Northumberland never can be ſuppoſed to have had any power or authority, in this caſe, the preſumption will be exceeding ſtrong in favor of Ælfred the Great, who is the only prince of the name that can poſſibly be imagined to have coined it. After this obſervation on the nature of the argument, I inſiſt, referring the proof of the thing to the next paragraph, that this coin was ſtruck in the ſouth parts of the iſland; whether at Norwich or not, ſhall be conſidered below; all I affirm here is, that it was minted out of the territories of any Northumbrian prince, and muſt conſequently belong to Ælfred the Great.

Now the knowledge of the place of coinage depends entirely on the monogram of the reverſe, which therefore muſt be conſidered, and indeed ſtands in great need of it. Mr. Thoreſby and Sir Andrew Fountaine decline meddling with it, but Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Walker enter the liſts boldly. Walker imagines it an abbreviation of the word *Northumberland*, in Saxon Noꝛ̃ð-ꝑýmbꝛalanð, or Noꝛ̃ðan-ꝑýmbꝛa ꝛice; 'Quâ Northumbriæ 'quidpiam ſignificari videtur,' ſays he (2); and again, 'the 'tenth Ælfred ſeems, by the cypher or monogram on the

(1) Walker, on Tab. IV. No. 19. in Lat. Verſ. of Spelm. Life of Ælfred; and in his Comment. on the Saxon Coins in Camden.
(2) Walker, in Spelm. Life of Ælfred.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

'reverſe, to have been the king of Northumberland,' &c. (1). But Mr. Thwaites, nevertheleſs, explains it of the city of Norwich: 'The cypher in the reverſe,' ſays he, 'may be de-'cyphered LIVITas NORÐVIL;' and he is ſo fortunate, I obſerve, as to meet with the approbation of Mr. Hearne (2), who calls it an ingenious gueſs, and on the ſtrength thereof alleges this coin as a proof, that the city of Norwich was either repaired after ſome devaſtation, or elſe had ſome addition made to it, by king Ælfred. But though it ſhould be allowed that Ælfred the Great was a mighty builder or reſtorer of towns (3), and even improved the fortifications of Norwich caſtle (4), which however is doubtful, yet no works of his at Norwich can be inferred from this penny, as it has nothing of the nature of a medal in it, and is only a common coin; wherefore though Mr. Thwaites ſhould have enucleated the cypher rightly and juſtly, all that would follow would only be, that the piece was minted at Norwich. But I ſhall prove this interpretation to be all a groundleſs and random conjecture, as well as that other of Mr. Walker; which done, I ſhall propoſe, with all becoming deference and diffidence, an explication of my own.

Theſe cyphers on reverſes, as appears from three pennies of Charlemagne (5), are compoſed ſometimes of the king's or emperor's names; even though the name be written at length on the obverſe of the ſame piece. Nevertheleſs, I can agree readily with Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Walker, that by the cypher in this piece, the name of the place where it was coined was intended to be expreſs'd. There are many examples in Monſ. Le Blanc of that name's being placed in the area of reverſes, and even in a monogrammatical form. That the caſe is ſo here is abundantly clear from a ſimilar coin, both as to the obverſe and reverſe, of the late Dr. Mead, where the reverſe is thus,

(1) Walker, in Camd. (2) Aſſer Menev. p. 58. Flor. Vigorn. p. 592, 593.
(3) As alſo of the Compiler of the Hiſtory of the City and County of Norwich, 1768. 8vo. p. 6. (4) Hiſt. of Norwich, p. 6. (5) Le Blanc, p. 88.

Here,

Here, you obſerve, the minter has taken care to put his name, Ælfſtan, along with the cypher, from whence it is very evident, that the name of the place of coinage muſt be denoted by the cypher; nothing elſe can poſſibly be ſignified by it. Whence I infer, that our cypher, which ſo much reſembles this of Dr. Mead's, muſt be deſigned for the ſame purpoſe, though the name of the minter happens here to be, by ſome means or other, omitted (1). In further confirmation of this, I beg leave to obſerve, that a coin alſo in moſt admirable preſervation, of which my moſt reſpectable friend Mr. Duane has been pleaſed to favour me with the following plate, exhibits likewiſe the minter's name, with the monogram, viz. TILEVINE above, and MONETA below. This name, on a fine coin of Egbert, in the poſſeſſion of the ſame moſt worthy and communicative gentleman, is written TILVVINE, a particular which I mention for the ſake of aſcertaining the reading of it on the former piece.

The queſtion then is, whether the ancient name of Northumberland, or of the city of Norwich, be contained in the monogram. Mr. Thwaites reads it LIVITas NORÐVIL, but they muſt have better eyes than I, that can find above half of thoſe letters in this cypher. N and O are viſible, but who can diſcover R Ð V L, letters highly eſſential in the full name of this city; the firſt at leaſt is. And in a cypher of this antiquity, to denote to us the Saxon name of the city of Norwich, the leaſt one could expect would be *NOR*, for with fewer than them, the deſignation of the place would be vague and deficient. For the ſame reaſon I reject the other conjecture of Mr. Walker's, *Northumbriæ*, for here again we may reaſonably expect the letters NORÐ or NOR, and yet we don't perceive an R in the cypher.

(1) Quære, Whether the Cotton-Penny had not the minter's name, but being much defaced, or perhaps illegible, Speed was obliged to omit it?

Now in regard of what I have to offer, in lieu of the ſubverted and diſproved interpretations of theſe gentlemen, I obſerve firſt, that the reverſe in Speed, from whom all the other authors have taken it, appears to me to be turned upſide down; this I gather from the reverſe of Dr. Mead's and Mr. Duane's pennies given above, where the letters of the mint-maſter's names plainly ſhew that the upright ſhould be thus,

I apprehend next, that the parallel line which connects the firſt upright ſtroke with O, is erroneouſly added, either in Speed's type, or in the original, Dr. Mead's coin and Mr. Duane's wanting that tranſverſe line. 3dly, that theſe ancient cyphers generally begin with the firſt letter on the left hand (1). Wherefore the ſeveral letters comprized in this monogram ſeem to be LONDI or LONDCI, to be interpreted, the firſt LONDInium, and the ſecond LONDinium CIvitas; I prefer the latter, as CI is a common abbreviation of Civitas (2), which, in the barbarous Latinity, ſignified the town with its buildings; a ſenſe which it perpetually obtains upon the coins (3). It will be allow'd, that one ſtroke or line in a monogram may ſerve to two purpoſes; this being a kind of principle, upon which the combination or alligation of letters, in this ſhort and conciſe way of writing, is in a manner founded; therefore we are not to wonder, that the curve ſhould both be a portion of D, and alſo be a C turned backward; the inverting of a letter is a liberty which the monogrammatiſt will often claim to be indulged. I am aware of no objection to this method of analyſing the cypher, except that the city of London at this period of time was uſually written with U, and even on the coins: But to this I reply; though the Saxons

(1) Le Blanc. p. 88. 92.

(2) Le Blanc. paſſim. Sir A. Fount. IX. S. Petri moneta, No. 6. II. Athelſtan, No. 2.

(3) Le Blanc, p. 30. Lord Pembr. Part IV. Tab. 2. Sir A. Fount. Tab. IX.

cur-

currently wrote it with U (1), yet in Latin the name was commonly given with O, ſo Tacitus (2), the Itinerary (3), the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (4), Venerable Bede (5), and the monks many of them (6), and the language of the coins was at this time very often Latin; and it is remarkable, that on three coins of king Æthelſtan, the grandſon of our Ælfred, we find the name of the city of London written with O; and on two of them, it is deſcribed in the ſame language, with the ſame abbreviation, and the very ſame number of letters, as in our latter expoſition, LOND CI (7), which I eſteem a great confirmation of the truth of it. I am ſenſible there is much room for fancy in reſolving monograms, and therefore do not pretend to controul or preſcribe to the judgment of others: Gentlemen have the ſame liberty to diſſent from me, and to indulge their own imaginations, as I have aſſumed in departing from the former expoſitions of Mr. Walker and Mr. Thwaites. All therefore that I propoſe is, to offer a conjecture, which, I am perſuaded, will appear to be *plauſible to ſome*; and, ſhould it be true, will prove to us, in conjunction, however, with the other evidence before given, that the coin was made at London, and conſequently was a penny of Ælfred the Great, and not of Ælfred of Northumberland. It was coined probably by Ælfſtan, who, as it ſhould ſeem from the beauty of the piece, was one of the king's beſt workmen.

Having thus clearly and fully, as we hope, aſſured the coin to Ælfred the Great, we may deſcant with ſome certainty on the ornaments of our king's heads, as uſed in the Saxon ages. Mr. Hearne would willingly make the diadem, as it appears here, an argument for attributing the piece to this monarch: 'Not now to inſiſt,' ſays he, 'upon the wreath which incircles 'the head, and is more agreeable to the times of Ælfred the 'Great, than thoſe of Ælfred king of Northumberland; and 'for that reaſon Mr. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, mentions

(1) Chron. Sax. paſſim. Biſhop Gibſon, there. Lambarde, Top. Dict.
(2) Tacitus, Annal. XIV. 33. (3) Antonini Itinerar. paſſim.
(4) Raven. p. 808. Edit. Gronov. (5) Beda, I. 29. II. 3.
(6) Uſſerii Brit. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 32. 38. Hearne in Sel. Itin. VIII. in Append. p. 35. Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 17.
(7) Sir Andrew Fountaine, II. No. 2. 4.

'it

'it as his, and places it amongſt his other obſervations con-
'cerning coronation in the weſtern parts after the times of
'Charles the Great (1).' But the argument is, ſurely, very weak; for the older the prince, the more likely are we to find the plain fillet or diadem; Mr. Hearne does himſelf acknowledge as much, p. 200, where Sir John Spelman having delivered himſelf thus, 'I know not why we may not conjecture
'that the king (being by the return of his Eaſt-India ſhip
'ſtored with many eaſtern ſtonēs, and by his eſpecial induſtry
'upon that occaſion provided alſo of workmen) probably fell
'upon the compoſing of an imperial crown, which though not
'of the form, &c.' He comments upon it, 'this does not
'appear from any author but Harpsfield; nor from his coins,
'in which his head is circled with a ſimple diadem after the
'common and *ancienteſt* faſhion, in other countries.' But though this ornament will not ſerve the purpoſe Mr. Hearne would have it, by contributing to fix the coin to Ælfred the Great, in preference to Ælfred of Northumberland, yet we learn from it, that the plain diadem was now uſed. And I am well perſuaded, that the monarchs of England in theſe times had no ſuch thing as an imperial crown. This coin is a good evidence as to king Ælfred, eſpecially if it was minted at the end of his reign, as, to judge from the viſage, one would think it was; and his ſon Edward, I obſerve, has juſt ſuch another fillet upon his head. Surely, if theſe two great and flouriſhing princes wore not a cloſe imperial crown, one has no reaſon to think that any of the monarchs, their predeceſſors, did.

Before I finally diſmiſs this curious penny, I ſhall beg leave to make one obſervation more; a ſmall matter, indeed, of itſelf, but will be attended with conſequences of ſome ſignificance. Gentlemen incline to take the mark, in the area of the obverſe, to be the finiſhing letter of the legend or inſcription, which they conceive to be, ÆLFRED REX, but I have not obſerved ſuch common words as REX running on in this manner into the middle of a coin (2); I don't recollect a ſingle

(1) Hearne, in Spelm. Life of Ælfred, p. 164.

(2) The caſe is very different in the prelatical coin of Vigmund, mentioned in the Eſſay, p. 55.

inſtance

inſtance of the ſort, on the contrary, RE for REX, even where there is good room for the laſt letter, is frequent (1). In other caſes, where there is not ſpace ſufficient for the whole ſtile, the maſters cut as much as they can, and omit the reſt, as in Camden, Tab. I. 15. 34. II. 27. III. 19, &c. and will ſometimes leave a letter unfiniſh'd, as is often done even in the ſpecie of William the Conqueror. I am of opinion, to be brief, that we ought to ſeek for a different meaning in reſpect of this mark, and that it was intended for *a Croſs*. Very few of the Saxon coins ever want the croſs; it would have been thought *impious in thoſe days* to omit that moſt eſſential object of religion: Perhaps they imagine withal, it might have ſome influence on their dealings, by rendering men more juſt and honeſt; or at leaſt, that it might contribute to ſecure the ſpecie from clipping, or other fraudulent practices. But whatever the reaſons for it might be, it was almoſt a general rule for the croſs to make its appearance ſomewhere on the Saxon ſpecie; it was certainly ſo in this reign, and the next, and is always placed in the area of the piece (2). But the uſual place being occupied in this penny by the king's head on one ſide, and by the monogram on the other, the engraver thought fit to put the excluded croſs into that corner. For that the mark in queſtion is an imperfect croſs, and intended for ſuch, appears from a ſimilar mark on a coin of Ethelred II. (3), and on another of Cnut (4); ſee alſo Brenner's Theſaur. Numm. Sueo-Goth, Tab. V. Albertus, No. 1. 2. 4. The mark being, in theſe examples, thruſt into an angle or corner, there was not room for a perfect decuſſation. In No. 7. of Sir A. Fountaine's firſt table, the croſs is entirely wanting on the head ſide, for the ſame reaſon, viz. becauſe the area is filled with other matters, but then there are no leſs than three on the reverſe. But there is none on the reverſe of the piece under conſideration.

Now the croſs ſo univerſally prevailing on our ancient money, and generally very conſpicuouſly on the ſpecie of Ælfred and Edward, has given occaſion to many alluſions and proverbial ſayings amongſt us, ſome of which it may not be improper or

(1) Camden, Tab. I. No. 21, 22.
(2) Except one piece of Edward, No. 51, in Sir A. Fountaine.
(3) Sir A. Fountaine, No. 30. (4) Ibid. No. 20.

unpleaſing

unpleaſing to mention. The toſſing up *Croſs and Pile* (1), is a game of chance very commonly uſed, yet I don't remember to have ſeen any where a rational ſolution of the terms. 'Tis a game of antiquity, being mentioned by Aur. Victor (2), and Macrobius (3), but much older than their times, as is plain from their accounts of it. 'Tis generally play'd with money, but in regard to a great deal of our preſent ſpecie, whereon there is no croſs any where, the name of this paſtime, though well enough underſtood as to its meaning, is extremely improper, and as to the reaſon and ground of it, unintelligible. In regard to another part of our preſent coin, where there is a croſs on the reverſe, the expreſſion is ſtill more improper, and even abſurd, for by the croſs we always mean the headſide or obverſe of a piece, and by *pile* the reverſe; and yet ever ſince the Norman Conqueſt, and before, the large croſs has always (to ſpeak in general) been placed on the reverſes. For the original of the phraſe we muſt therefore recur to the cloſe of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, when, as appears from the coins of Ælfred the Great and Edward the Elder, the large croſs was the obverſe of the coin, and occupied generally the place of the king's head. At this time, the expreſſion was plain and proper, as conſiſtent with the form and faſhion of the coins; the coins and the phraſe mutually explaining one another. But what is *pile?* This ſeems to be involved in more difficulty than the former, and indeed of a later extraction. I ſuppoſe we borrowed this from the French (4); and as to the meaning of it, M. Menage writes, 'Quant au mot *Pile* pour le revers de lay monnoye, j'ay appris 'des memoires du Sieur *de Clerac*, ſur les anciens poids et 'monnoyes de Guyenne, qui m'ont eſtè communiquez manu-'ſcrits par M. *du Puy*, qu'il auroit pris ſon origine de la figure 'd'une Pile couchée ſous les armes de la ville de Bourdeaux, et 'qui eſtioit empeinte ſur le revers du ſou Bourdelois (5).' He ſays, it took its name from a pile placed under the arms of the city of Bourdeaux put on the reverſes of their money.

(1) Dodſley's Plays, IX. p. 351. (2) Aur. Victor. de Orig. Gent. Rom. c. 3.
(3) Macrobii Saturn. I. 7.
(4) Andr. Schottus ad Aur. Victor. loco citato. Menage, Origines de la Langue Franc. v. Pilote. (5) Menage, Ibid.

The

The croſs again was no caſual mark or ornament, but intended to be a real repreſentation of the Croſs of Chriſt, as appears from the word *CRVX* on ſeveral of the pennies of Ethelred II. Cnut, &c. and that our authors, and cuſtoms, and forms of ſpeech, are perpetually alluding to it in that ſenſe. So Pierce Ploughman, Paſſus 15. fol. LXXXV.

——————— 'The crowne ſtands in golde
'Both ryche and religious, that *rode* they honour
'That in *grotes* is graven, and in *nobles*,
'For covetous of that *Croſſe*, men of holy kirke
'Shal turn as Templars did,' &c.

Hence aroſe afterwards the cuſtom of ſwearing by the croſs upon the coin, as Dodſley's old Plays, Vol. III. p. 28. "All 'the while his money is loſing, he ſwears by the *Croſs of this 'Silver*, and when it is gone, he changeth it to the *Hilts of his 'Sword*;' and p. 30. 'Yes, this is the firſt game; but *by the 'Croſs of this Silver*, here's all of five pounds.' From hence too, comes the ſaying of *the Devil's dancing in people's pockets*, when they are empty, viz. becauſe then there was no *croſs* there, which, as was then believ'd, would infallibly keep him out. This is the genuine meaning of this expreſſion, for in Lylie's Euphueſ. p. 148, we have theſe remarkable words, 'But now my barrell of gold, which pride ſet abroach, love 'began to ſet a tilt, which in ſhort time ran ſo on the lees, 'that *the Devil daunced in the bottome, where he found never a 'Croſſe*.' So the Poet Skelton, p. 71.

——————————— 'and his pouche
'The Devyll might *dance therein for any crouche*.'

And *Naſh*, in the *Supplication of Pierce Pennileſſe to the Devil*, makes Pierce ſay, 'Where as your impious Excellence hath 'had the poore tenement of his purſe any time this halfe yeare '*for your dauncing ſchole*, and he (notwithſtanding) hath re- 'ceived no penye nor croſſe for farme,' &c. Croſs here means generally *a piece of money*, for the ſame reaſon; as alſo it does in the declaration of the frontiſpiece to Dr. Fuller's Holy War.

'First Europe bids your obſervation ſtay
'Upon a purſe of gold (warre's ſureſt nerve)
'Whoſe *ev'ry Croſſe* is intereſs'd to ſerve
'I'th' holy warre. The gain, alas! no more
'Then croſſes gules inſtead of *croſſes or*.'

Hence too comes the *croſſing the hand of a gypſie*, mentioned in the *Spectator*, No. 130. by which is meant, putting a *piece of money* into her hand, without which ſhe will not utter her predictions. Hence alſo we ſay, *a man has not a penny to bleſs himſelf with*, and, *he has not a croſs in his pocket*. Croſs ſtands for money in general, in Skelton, p. 72.

——— 'I have no Coyne or Croſſe

and p. 205.

'Of a Peny, nor of a Croſſe.'

And ſo Naſh, p. 4. 'For any *croſſes*, images or pictures that I 'carry about me,' meaning money. See him alſo, p. 7.

To make an end, Sir Roger, in *the Scornful Lady*, A. I. calls Welford's chriſtian name his *Badge of Chriſtianity*. He anſwers, wittily,

'What's that, a Croſs? There's a Teſter.'

END OF THE FIRST DISSERTATION.

DISSERTATION II.

On Mr. Thoreſby's famous Unic, ſuppoſed to be a Coin of St. EDWIN, ſhewing it to be a Penny of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, wherein a Plan for re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Saxon Coins is inſerted.

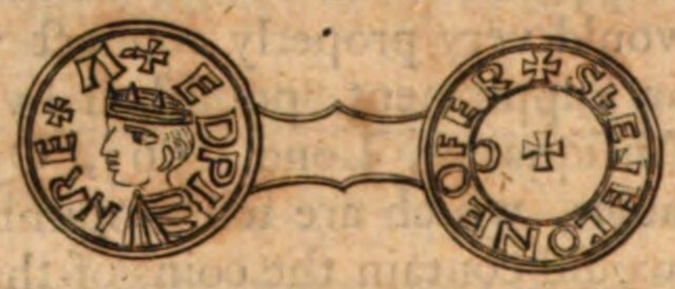
I Have often thought, that the re-engraving of Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Anglo-Saxons coins, which are now crouded at the end of a large work of Dr. Hickes's (1), with his Commentary, and thoſe of other gentlemen who have either occaſionally, or profeſſedly, contributed to their illuſtration, would prove a work both uſeful and entertaining. Such a deſign would very properly connect with Mr. Folkes's plates, and their Supplement, publiſhed by the gentlemen of the ſociety of Antiquaries, Lond. 1763, Quarto. And if to Sir Andrew's Tables, which are ten in number, as many more were added, as would contain the coins of that ſeries diſcovered ſince the year 1705, with the neceſſary comments, by way of ſupplement, the money affairs of this nation would receive all the light and all the ornament they may ſeem to be capable of, and would be in a manner complete.

The deſign, it muſt be confeſs'd, is large and extenſive, and would require ſome learning and ſome application; as the undertaker ought to give an account of the performances of the ſeveral gentlemen that have gone before him, Mr. Speed, Mr. Walker, Mr. Thoreſby, Sir A. Fountaine, Mr. Thwaites, &c. as likewiſe to prefix ſome neceſſary preliminary diſſertations; on the uſefulneſs of the work in general; on the ſeveral methods employed for determining with certainty to what reign

(1) Theſaurus Ling. vett. Septentr. Tom. II.

the reſpective pieces belong; on the materials of which the Saxon ſpecie conſiſted, with the different denominations thereof, either as uſed in account, or in actual payments, and on the manner of diſburſing larger ſums; on the weight and workmanſhip of the coins, the number of the mints, and the places where they were fixed; in whom the power of coining was anciently veſted, and more eſpecially the rank and condition of the mint-maſters, whom, there is reaſon to think, our authors are perpetually miſrepreſenting.

Theſe, and the like amuſing and neceſſary particulars, ought to be previouſly diſcuſs'd; and then as to the diſtribution of the work, the ſeveral coins of every reign ought to be brought together into one plate and placed at the head of the reign, and every piece numbered. Suppoſing then the celebrated unic of Mr. Thoreſby's, which he, with the approbation of many gentlemen, confers upon St. Edwin, and eſteems it the oldeſt penny extant, to be the 48th piece of Edward the Confeſſor, as we hope to prove it to be, the commentaries upon it may be placed thus, according to the order of time.



48. R. T. (1).

Walker on Camden, Tab. IV. 38.

"The 38th is *Edwin Rex*; this ſeems to have been the glorious king of the Northumbers. . . . his converſion fell out in the year of Chriſt 627. The reverſe is *Sefwel on Eoferwic*."

Sir Andrew Fountaine.

"EDvIN REX in averſa parte, SEEVEL ON (de) EOFEPwic, hodie York. Cenſet Walkerus hunc nummum ſpectare ad Edwinum Northumbriæ regem; quod ſi verum ſit, Saxonico-

(1) Theſe, the initials of Mr. Ralph Thoreſby's name, are added, to ſhew the authority of the coin.

rum

rum omnium nummorum, quos novimus, antiquiſſimus eſt. Vid. Num. 38. Tab. 8væ. (1) in Britannia Camdeniana."

Mr. Thwaites.

"SEEVEL. ON EOFORpic, Seevel of York. Hinc *Saviliorum* familia, ſiquidem *Eboracenſis* per ætates fuerit."

Mr. Thoreſby on Camd. Tab. IV. 38.

"EDV(W)IN REX Anglorum. Reverſe, SEEVEL ON EOFERpic. This moſt rare piece is juſtly ſuppoſed to be the ancienteſt of any piece now in being of the Engliſh nation; and *Seevel* (2), the nobleman upon the reverſe, may very well be preſum'd to be one of the anceſtors of the ancient and honourable family of the *Saviles*, of which Sir *John*, afterwards lord Savile, and father to the earl of Suſſex, was the firſt alderman of Leeds, which place had been the ſeat of the kings of Northumberland, after this Edwin's martyrdom by the Pagans, &c. (3)."

Mr. Franc. Drake. Eborac. Append. p. CIII. & CIV.

"Under the Saxon government in Britain, we have undoubted teſtimony of a mint at York, both in their heptarchical diviſion of this kingdom, and under their univerſal monarchy. Nor were the Daniſh kings amongſt us ſo long, without leaving us ſeveral ſuch evidences as the former. In the heptarchy, though I have great reaſon to aſcribe every coin, the Northumbrian kings ſtruck, to be done at York; yet I have been ſo cautious, as to take and engrave none, but what have the name of the city evidently upon them. The firſt which I think proper to mention, though it ſtands at No. 29. in the plate, is the coin of *Edwin the Great*. This curious piece is repreſented in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables, at the end of Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus Linguarum, &c. Tab. VIII. and in the laſt edition of Camden, Tab. IV. No. 38. It is *an unic* of

(1) 4tæ.

(2) *Scula* was a minter of Edward Confeſſor, at York, as I learn from a coin of Mr. White's, found near Peterborough, A. 1759, and quære whether he be not the ſame perſon, under a different orthography, with Seevel or Sceuel.

(3) See alſo Thoreſby's Muſeum, p. 140.

very

of very great rarity and worth; being the ancienteſt coin of the Saxon money, known to the connoiſſeurs in this way. It is probable this coin was ſtruck at York, after Edwin became univerſal monarch; the inſcription EDVIN REX A. or Edwin Reg. Anglorum implying no leſs. Bede informing us, that he was the firſt Saxon monarch who ſtiled himſelf king of *Engliſhmen*. On the reverſe of this fair coin is read SEEVEL ON EOFERwic, or Seevel, (the mint-maſter) at York. I ſhall not follow my countryman, honeſt Mr. Thoreſby's notion, in aſcribing the great antiquity of the name and family of *Savile* in Yorkſhire, to this mint-maſter; that ancient family needing no ſuch ſtrained efforts to denote its antiquity. I ſhall only take notice, how early the Saxon began to corrupt the *Roman* name *Eboracum*, and barbarize it into their own dialect. This name however ſtuck to the city, with little variation, quite through the *Saxon* government in this iſland.

In this order the annotations, already printed, may be commodiouſly placed; after which the new commentator, who would ſucceed theſe expert medaliſts, with any tolerable degree of applauſe, ought in the firſt place to deliver the characteriſtics of every reign, ſo far as it can be done; that is, he ſhould ſpecify the *manner* of every prince's money, the orthography of his name, the form of the letters then in uſe, with every other particular peculiar to that age, or that may ſerve to appropriate the money to that prince with certainty; a point of the firſt and moſt important conſequence. He ought alſo to have regard to the homonymous princes, their age, and the figure or manner of their reſpective coins. After this, he will think it needful to travel through the ſeveral pieces one by one, remarking the obſervables, clearing the difficulties, rectifying the miſtakes of his predeceſſors where there are any, and doing every thing, in ſhort, that may contribute to the illuſtration of the piece, or make his work perfect. In the reign before us I can conceive him proceeding in ſome ſuch manner as this that follows.

" The ſpecie of Edward the Confeſſor is very plentiful. Mr. Walker engraved a great many more than he was aware of, for as he no where fluctuates more than in this reign, he wrongs the prince every now and then, by giving his money

away

away from him. He had ſeen, however, more than he has engrav'd. Sir A. Fountaine has adjudged 47 to this Edward, and I have reaſon to believe is right in every ſingle piece; and indeed now we are come down ſo near the Norman Conqueſt, one may expect the greater clearneſs and certainty; ſuch notes and marks, as may aſcertain the coins to their proper owners with confidence and aſſurance.

" It was not conſiſtent with Sir Andrew's intended brevity to give reaſons; but it may be proper for us to do it here, that gentlemen may ſee upon what grounds of evidence the money of the Confeſſor ſtands. This taſk is, moreover, become perfectly neceſſary, by reaſon that Mr. Thoreſby, ſince Sir Andrew wrote, has very unfortunately unſettled and perplexed this affair.

" The Confeſſor's money is of nine ſorts. The general marks that runs through them all are, firſt, a modern way of ſpelling either in the firſt or ſecond, and ſometimes in both the ſyllables of his name, *Eadward, Edwaerd, Edward, Edwerd,* according to the obſervation of the late moſt learned biſhop of London, in his Preface to the Saxon Chronicle; where obſerving that the hiſtory of the tranſactions in thoſe annals, from the death of king Ælfred to the Confeſſor's age, was penned by perſons who had an exact knowledge of them, and conſequently were living in the times; he has theſe words, 'Rem eandem confirmant virorum nomina; quæ non alio 'modo in *Chronico Saxonico* ſcribuntur, quam inciſa in numiſ- 'matis conſpicimus: quod vero Idioma Saxonicum in ea parte 'quæ vitas tradit *Hardacnuti* ac Edwardi Confeſſoris, haud 'parum immutari incipit, ac rejectis vocalibus, ſyllabis item 'quibuſdam, ad noſtrum efferendi morem paullatim vergere, 'id etiam pro nobis facit. Iis enim temporibus revera mutari 'cæpiſſe, teſtem habemus Edwardi Confeſſoris numiſma, in 'quo regis iſtius nomen EDPARD exeratur; cum tamen 'nominis origo et antiqua ſcriptio EADPEARD poſtulent. 'Ejuſdem numiſmatis pars averſa, in qua LEFV̄INE ſcriptum 'conſpicitur pro LEOFPINE, idem teſtatur.' The coin his lordſhip refers to, is in Camden, II. 18. where the poſtic has LEFPINE, and I am of opinion the ſame name, with the

ſame

ſame orthography, ought to be reſtored to Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VI. *Eadward* I. where at preſent it is read REFPINE. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the old way of writing was left off univerſally, and every where, in an inſtant; it was probably a work of time; wherefore it is ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe to ſay, they began at this time to innovate; otherwiſe we have LEOFENOÐ and LIEFNOD and LEOFRIC in this reign, and LEOFPINE and LEOFRIC in the next. The king's name on the face-ſide of the coin his lordſhip points at, is, EADPARD, as it is on the Confeſſor's broad ſeal (1); but the argument and the obſervation is not the leſs juſt, ſince the latter ſyllable, though not the former, is modern, and that upon other pennies we have it *Edward* and *Edwerd*. Theſe approximations to the preſent mode of ſpelling being found agreeable to that part of the Saxon Chronicle, which the Right Rev. Editor with great reaſon eſteems to have been penned in the Confeſſor's own age, will go a good way in appropriating theſe coins to him. Before, we have it always without variation, *Eadwig* and *Eadgar*; and in thoſe 25 pieces, which ought to be attributed to Edward the Elder, and which carry a quite different aſpect from theſe in every reſpect, the name is invariably written *Eadweard*, and ſo the Saxon Chronicle. I add, that we may expect to find it given in the ſame manner, whenever we have the pleaſure of handling any money of Edward the Martyr, the ſucceſſor of king Edgar, for the Chronicle always calls him *Edweard*. As for the termination *weard*, which is the moſt ancient and genuine, and offers itſelf, as was juſt now remarked, on all the coins of Edw. I. I diſcover it not once in All this numerous tribe of coins. We have ſomething like it, 'tis true, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, IV. 5. and in that of Camden, II. 26. but in the other pieces the run is ſo general in the more modern way, and that not only in the king's name, but in the mint-maſter's *Elfwerd*, that they are not to be accounted of; the broad ſeal has it alſo on both ſides *ward*.

(1) Speed's Hiſtory. It would be proper for the Commentator, who may have occaſion to allege this ſeal for other purpoſes, to cauſe it to be engraved.

" The

" The next general remark relates to the Saxon P or W, which occurs but once in the whole ſpecie of Edward the Elder, viz. Camden, IV. 17. but here univerſally, except the poſtic of Sir Andrew Fountaine, VII. 43. and the broad ſeal. This character, which by the way is nothing but V cloſed at firſt at the top ▽ (1), and afterwards rounded for expedition and neatneſs P, (the V with the Saxons and Romans having moſtly the ſound and power of W) came not into uſe upon the coins till the age of Ethelred II. brother and ſucceſſor of Edward II. and conſequently all the Edward-Coins exhibiting this character muſt appertain to Edward III. or the Confeſſor.

" I obſerve next, that the king's ſtile is *Edward Rex Anglorum*, which appearing upon many of theſe pieces, not only aſſures the particular and individual coins to be the Confeſſor's, but all the reſt likewiſe of the ſame make and fabric. The broad ſeal has on both ſides *Anglorum Baſileus*, and not one penny of Edward the Elder preſents us with this full ſtile.

" The reverſes, in the fourth place, have moſt of them a croſs *with double lines* of ſome ſort or other, for the better direction of the ſheers in dividing the penny into two or four parts, in order to make halfpence and farthings. This double-lin'd croſs was firſt uſed in Ethelred the IId's time. Thoſe pieces of the Confeſſor that want it, as there are ſeven that do, are confirm'd to this prince by certain other marks, as the ſameneſs of the mint-maſters; the full-face, which is in a manner peculiar to this reign, in reſpect, I mean, of the regal coins, as contradiſtinguiſh'd to the prelatical; or ſome other diſcriminative ſingularity; thoſe that have the *croſs* muſt belong to the Confeſſor, there being no ſuch on the ſpecie of the other Edward, or of king Edgar, the type of whoſe money would probably be imitated by the workmen of his ſon, Edward the Martyr.

" Fifthly, the inſcription on the reverſe runs uniformly thus, ÐORR ON EOFERPIc, or to that effect, which is conſtant in this, the next, and ſome reigns after the Norman Conqueſt.

(1) As you have it on the old ſeal of the church of Durham. Appendix to Dr. Smith's Edition of Bede, p. 721. and in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VIII. Ludica.

Gentlemen, here and there, have adventured to depart from this Engliſh form, in reading and interpreting the legends, by reviving the old word *monetarius*. The particular caſes ſhould be diſcuſſed under the particular coins. In the mean time I ſhall go ſo far as to advance in general, that I cannot diſcern any manner of neceſſity for admitting that antiquated word in any one inſtance whatſoever. How different then is this epigraphe from thoſe of Edward the Elder, where we have the mint-maſter's name alone, or only ſome abbreviation of the word *monetarius* joined to it. This mark, it is preſumed, will alſo diſtinguiſh the Confeſſor's money from that of Edward the Second, as it was far from being the general vogue either in Ethelred II. or even in Cnut's reign.

" Laſtly, the place of coinage is never omitted; whereas, on the contrary, it is hardly ever inſerted on the money of Edward the Elder; nor have we reaſon to expect it often, at leaſt not always, on the pennies of Edward the Martyr, which would reſemble the money of king Edgar, whoſe ſon and ſucceſſor he was.

" I have kept my eye all along in theſe remarks on Edw. II. as well as Edward the Elder, for the ſake of giving every body ſatisfaction; otherwiſe, they are not the coins of Edward the Confeſſor, but ſome that belong to Edward the Elder, that Mr. Thoreſby would beſtow upon Edward the Martyr.

" It appears, upon the matter, that the pence of the three Edwards before the Conqueſt are with far more certainty diſtinguiſhed from one another, than thoſe of the three firſt after that *æra* are, which is chiefly owing (though not altogether) to the former Three having reigned not in ſucceſſion, as the latter three did, but at ſome diſtance of time.

" Theſe are the marks and characters which belong to all the Confeſſor's money in general; but beſides theſe, the ſeveral ſorts, in number nine, have notes of diſtinction peculiar to themſelves, which, when all his ſpecie is collected into their reſpective claſſes, and each claſs is conſidered apart, will be taken due notice of as they ariſe."

Here the ſeveral claſſes ſhould be formed, and the individual coins reviewed, with ſuch obſervations as each claſs and each coin

coin may afford. When the Commentator arrives at the ninth claſs, we may imagine him to proceed thus:

"The ninth claſs, or ſort, is Mr. Thoreſby's famous unic of St. Edwin, which makes at preſent an entire ſpecies of itſelf, having a radiated crown, and no ſcepter. The piece is curious, and well known to all the Antiquaries, as being extolled by the united ſuffrage, in a manner, of all our Annotators, and moſt able Connoiſſeurs, not only as *an unic*, but as the moſt ancient coin of the Engliſh nation. Were it of that prince theſe learned men aſcribe it to, it would indeed be very antique, for St. Edwin, king of Northumberland, and the firſt Chriſtian king of that country, whom they all conſent to favor with it, (though, methinks, Sir Andrew Fountaine delivers himſelf with great caution about it, *quod ſi verum eſt*, &c.) was ſlain in the year 633, almoſt an whole century before any other coin extant of this ſeries was ſtruck. But I am ſtrangely miſtaken if this penny, notwithſtanding theſe lofty pretenſions, and its many powerful advocates, one of whom, Mr. Drake, wrote ſo late as A. D. 1736, does not belong to the reign of the Confeſſor.

"You have the king's head in profile with a radiated diadem, + EDWIN REX A. Walker and Sir Andrew omit the A, which is highly material, and is very plain upon the coin. Reverſe, a ſmall croſs, with an annulet, in the area, + ÆLJEL ON EOFER.

"Edwin of Northumberland took the reins of government A. 617, before either he or his people were Chriſtians, and indeed but few years after the arrival of Auguſtine the monk; and by ſome it will be doubted, whether the Saxon alphabet, of which two letters, Þ and Ð, appear on this coin, was even in being in that age (1). This is a violent preſumption againſt the antiquity of this piece (to take no notice of its terſeneſs ſo vaſtly ſuperior to all the Northumbrian coins now remaining, not one of which affords us the effigies of their prince, not during the heptarchy at leaſt) wherefore may we not reaſonably inſiſt, that gentlemen ſhould give us ſome proof, either from coins or authors, that the Saxon letters were then

(1) See what is ſaid on the illiterate ſtate of the Saxons in our Eſſay, p. 15.

in exiſtence, before they require our aſſent to their opinion in favor of St. Edwin.

" I raiſe the next objection from the king's ſtile; for though it ſhould be allowed that *Rex Angliæ* or *Anglorum* was a form ſometimes uſed before the time of Egbert the Great, the founder of the hereditary monarchy (1), and that the Northumbrians were Angles, which by no means is clear (2), yet it is with the utmoſt difficulty I can grant, that Edwin king of Northumberland would be ſo called upon any coin; his ſtile probably would have been only *Edwin Rex*; however, were there to have been any addition, there would be no grounds to expect the word *Anglorum* in the title, but *Northanhymbrorum*, juſt as the Mercian kings were called *Reges Merciorum*, and the Kentiſh princes *Reges Cantii*. This, I ſay, is what might moſt reaſonably be looked for upon the money of this heptarch, for though venerable Bede makes the Pope term him *Rex Anglorum* (3), and calls him ſo himſelf (4), 'tis only a proof of the inadvertence of authors in ſuch matters, who are but too much accuſtomed to uſe the ſtile and manner of their own times (5), and to put the ſame language into the mouths of others. Of this we have a flagrant inſtance in this very writer, who long before this, makes Pope Gregory call Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, *Rex Anglorum* (6), and ſo ſtiles him himſelf; and yet the inhabitants of that kingdom were not *Angles* but *Jutes* (7); and their kings were never called otherwiſe upon the coins, than *Reges Cantii*. In a charter copied by Mr. Somner (8), Offa, king of Mercia, ſtiles himſelf *Rex Anglorum*, a criterion ſufficient of itſelf, in my opinion, were there no others, to convict that piece of forgery. To be ſhort, the caſe of an hiſtorian, who flouriſhed an hundred years after the time he writes of, is certainly very different from that of a king's putting his ſtile on his own money, or his name in a charter, when he is to be diſtin-

(1) Rapin, p. 84. et Annotat. (2) Idem, p. 32. (3) Bede, p. 89. 98.
(4) Idem, p. 30. 87. 101.
(5) St. Edwin liv'd almoſt a whole century before Bede wrote his hiſtory.
(6) Bede, p. 72. (7) Stillingfleet, Antiq. Brit. Ch. p. 314.
(8) Somner, Append. to Antiq. of Canterb. p. 41.

guiſh'd

guiſh'd from the other contemporary princes of the ſame country. This objection, drawn from the ſtile, will be ſtrongly concluſive againſt Mr. Walker and Mr. Thoreſby, who both incline to aſcribe money to Ælfred king of Northumberland, becauſe upon the reverſes of the pieces ſome part of the name of that kingdom ſeemed to be expreſſed (1).

"Thirdly, the orthography of the king's name is modern in both its parts. Florence of Worceſter, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, have *Eadwinus*, and no doubt the initial ſyllable in a name of ſuch remote antiquity, ought at leaſt to be *Ead*; but I believe his true name was Aeduuini, as it is given us in a very ancient manuſcript of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, written but two years after that venerable author's death, viz. A. 737 (2). 'Tis expreſſed in the ſame manner in a note at the concluſion of the manuſcript, which note was written at the ſame time. There is not only *uu*, which is moſt agreeable to the practice of that age, but alſo a very ſingular termination in the third vowel, which is genuine Saxon, as appears from *Eaduuini* upon the reverſes of two coins of Eanred (3), which Mr. Thwaites is very injudiciouſly for correcting into Eadwine; and from divers, not leſs than forty, examples, in that valuable and authentic manuſcript of Bede, to cite no other authorities. In after times, they turned this termination into e, but even then, where this ſyllable was prefixed in any compound name, the old vowel was ſtill retained; hence we have Wynimre, a minter of archbiſhop Ceolnoth's, and Winifr, another minter of the abbot of St. Edmundſbury (4); and hence the vulgar names of Winifrid, Winibald, &c. Theſe things conſidered, is it not exceeding ſtrange, that Aeduuini, or we will ſay Aeduuine, we ſhould meet with the curtail'd name, *Edwin*, on a coin of this vaſt antiquity? The ancient names, of archbiſhops or other prelates, of this termination, as Tatwine, Bregwine, and the like, are never ſo written in the ancient monuments of the Saxon

(1) Thoreſby on Camden, V. 1. As to Walker, ſee the laſt Diſſertation.
(2) Dr. Smith's Preface to his fine Edition of Bede.
(3) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VIII. and X.
(4) Idem, Tab. VI. Eadmund, 25.

nation,

nation, the chronicle, the councils, the charters, or other manuſcripts. I ſhall have done with the obverſe, after noting, that the character P is not leſs than 300 years younger than the pretended date of this coin.

" As to the reverſe; the town or city, where a piece was ſtruck, never appears upon any Saxon coin in that place, (that is written round) if you will except a prelatical coin or two, till king Athelſtan's time. Neither does the particle *ON*, without the word *Monetarius*, or ſome abbreviation of that, appear, till after that.

" 'Tis a doubt alſo with me, whether the ancient city of York was called Eoferwic, in theſe early days (1); though Mr. Drake above ſeems to admit it. But be this as it may, king Edwin's money would be coined, doubtleſs, for the uſe and benefit of his own ſubjects, and of nobody elſe; and whereas Mr. Drake has obſerved, and I think with great colour of reaſon, that every coin which the Northumbrian kings ſtruck during the heptarchy, was probably done at York, there was no occaſion for the mention of the place of coinage upon Edwin's money, he having, probably, no other mints but thoſe at York. Afterwards, indeed, when the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy were ſwallowed up in a monarchy, and mints were ſet a going in various and diſtant parts of this, there aroſe a neceſſity of ſpecifying the places of coinage, and it grew to be a general cuſtom. It appears from Mr. Drake's plate, and is a particular much to be remarked, that the name of the city of York is ſeen upon no coin till *Guthman* the Dane, who flouriſhed in king Ælfred's time, ſuppoſing the pieces given to him to be his (2), but quære

" Laſtly, I cannot but think it extraordinary, that admitting the coin to have been minted after Edwin became a chriſtian, and that a croſs of ſome ſort might for that reaſon appear upon the area of the reverſe, it ſhould be ſo unlike all the other Northumbrian croſſes, and ſo perfectly reſemble thoſe in uſe 400 years after.

(1) Drake, Eboracum, p. 3. 6. (2) Drake, Eborac. p. CIV.

" This

"This coin then, I conclude, liable to ſo many juſt exceptions, cannot poſſibly appertain to Edwin king of Northumberland; and indeed it has nothing of the caſt or air of our oldeſt pieces; not one favourable circumſtance, bating the name of the king, to counterbalance all theſe objections; whilſt, on the contrary, every thing correſponds exactly with the age of Edward the Confeſſor; the ſtile; the orthography of the king's name, as ſhall be evinced by and by; the character P; the legend on the reverſe, the croſs there, and the entire form of the reverſe, which, and truly this is highly worth obſerving, is minutely the ſame with two others on the Confeſſor's coins minted at the ſame place (1). The annulet, which appears upon the area of theſe two pennies, as likewiſe it does in that of this famous unic, was at that time the mint-mark of the city of York; there are 18 pieces of this Edward, minted at York, and all but one have this annulet in their *area*. One has two, another has four, and the area or field is, by this means, ſometimes much crouded, as in the two laſt mentioned pieces; nay, ſometimes, part of the ornaments requiſite are omitted, to make room for this mark. Other money, coined by the Confeſſor at other mints, have no ſuch note of diſtinction, ſo that I regard it to be peculiar to the *City of York*, ſince it is not the mark of any particular maſter there, but of the place in general, different maſters being concerned in ſtriking theſe 18 pennies. This mark, however, we are ſure is not ancient, as we never ſee it before the reign of king Edward the Elder (2), and conſequently the appearance of it, upon the piece in queſtion, is an inconteſtable argument againſt St. Edwin, but greatly in favor of the Confeſſor.

"Another argument in ſupport of the Confeſſor's claim I deduce from the weight of the piece. The reverend Mr. Thoreſby, ſon of the late great and indefatigable antiquary, was pleaſed to favor me, in the moſt obliging manner, with the weight of all his father's Saxon coins, and this, which is a fair penny, raiſes only 15 grains, which coincides with two

(1) Sir A. Fountaine, VI. 4. 5. (2) Ibidem, VII. No. 77.

others

others of the Confeſſor's pence in that collection, whereof one weighs 15 grains, and the other 15½ grains, and with a third in the Cottonian repoſitory, which is perfect, and yet weighs but 15 grains; it is No. 16 in the catalogue. No. 8 there weighs but 16. There is no other money ſo light in thoſe two cabinets, except one very ſmall piece of the Confeſſor's in the Cotton-Collection, which is perfect, and yet weighs but 10 grains (1). The inſcription, as was remarked, is not only in the taſte and mode of the Confeſſor's age, but I verily believe the maſter, SLE✓EL (2), to be the ſame with SLVIAE, who made one of the Confeſſor's coins at York with an annulet in the area; Mr. Thoreſby himſelf eſteemed them the ſame names (3).

" The grand and chief objection to Edward's title is the name of the prince; for as to the abſence of the ſcepter, which I obſerved above was wanting, many of the Confeſſor's pennies, undoubtedly ſuch, have not that. And ſo as to the radiated crown or diadem, the ornaments of the Confeſſor's head are various, as are thoſe of *Cnut*, Harthacnut, and Harold I. and a radiated crown is no more a ſtrange phœnomenon on the head of this prince, (ſince we know it was formerly uſed in this nation by Egbert his predeceſſor) (4), than it is on that of Ethelred II. (5), or of Ludica of Mercia, whoſe head is adorned with a double one (6). On the ancient ſeal of the church of Durham, made probably in this very reign, king Oſwald wears juſt ſuch a crown as this (7). The ſole bar, I ſay, to Edward's claim, is the name of the prince, which in Sir Andrew Fountaine's type is evidently EDPIN, but I dare be confident is miſread. The laſt letter but one is A, the other ſtroke, which appears plainly in the draught in Camden, IV. 38. being loſt in the drapery of Sir Andrew's print. This makes it EDPAN, without any ſenſe. You

(1) Surely it could not be coined for a halfpenny?
(2) This, as I remember, is the true reading, much different from the type above.
(3) Thoreſby, in Muſ. No. 20 and 74.
(4) Sir A. Fountaine, VIII. Egbert, 2. (5) Ibid. II. Æthelred, 31.
(6) At leaſt with a double number of rays or points.
(7) Dr. Smith, in Append. ad Bedam, p. 721.

need

need only then ſuppoſe the laſt letter to be miſcut by the engraver that made the puncheon or die (and the like errors, as all know, are but too frequent in this ſeries) and the buſineſs is done. But there is no occaſion for this reſort, for I inſpected this capital coin in the year 1742, and clearly diſcovered that the laſt letter was D and not N, ſo that the name was EDPAD, an eaſy miſtake for EDPARD.

" Thus this penny, from being the moſt ancient of all the Saxon money, proves, in the event, to be one of the lateſt; however, it is ſcarcely leſs curious, and in one reſpect is an *unic* ſtill, as being the only one of the ſort, amongſt the numerous ſpecimens which we have of the Confeſſor's money, and conſtituting an entire ſpecies of itſelf.

" All I have to add is, that theſe obſervations, made many years ago, have ſince been ſignally confirmed in part, upon which I cannot but congratulate myſelf, by the judicious pen of that excellent ſcholar, the late Mr. Francis Wiſe. He not only gives it as his opinion, that king Edmund was the firſt that uſed the ſtile and title of *Rex Anglorum*, but alſo declares concerning this coin in particular, ' Hunc nummum nequeo, ' cum Cl. Walkero, Edwino Northumbriæ Regi adſcribere, cum ' non ſolum inſcriptio aliud ſuadeat, ſed merito dubitandum ſit, ' an tunc temporis, ſcilicet anno 617, quo Edwinus regnere ' cæpit, ullam monetam ſignatam hujuſce commetis habuerint ' Anglo Saxones (1).' He thought it might be a coin of king Edwig; whence it appears, that this learned antiquary ſaw a glimpſe of the truth, but how far he is right as to the prince, muſt be ſubmitted, after what has been alleged on the Confeſſor's behalf, to the deciſion of the candid and impartial reader.

Our commentator, I imagine, might proceed, and not improperly, in ſome ſuch manner as this; and his obſervations, were he to add no others to thoſe I have here made, would be ſufficient, I am perſuaded, to convince any reaſonable and unprejudiced perſon, that this famous coin could never be the money of St. Edwin, but in all probability is a penny of Edward the Confeſſor.

(1) Wiſe, Catalog. Numm. Bodl. p. 231.

END OF THE SECOND DISSERTATION.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

P. 32. A Like head in profile.] Mr. White has lately procured a fine penny with a biſhop's head and *a full face*, but in other reſpects like this; and we embrace the opportunity of engraving it here.

P. 32. This number, from Mr. Weſt's cabinet.] This reverſe is by miſtake omitted in the plate, in its place, and ſtands at No. 6.

P. 33. And the Diſſertation there, No. V.] add,

JOHN MORTON.

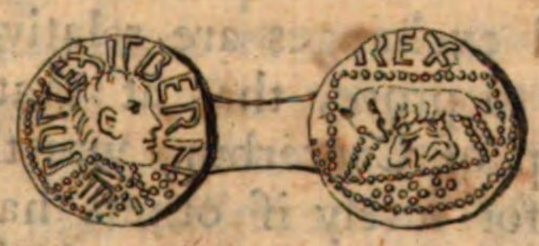
This prelate, who had the ſingular happineſs of uniting the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, and was a ſagacious, prudent, ſteady, and magnanimous man, was tranſlated from Ely to Canterbury, A. 1486, and ſat in the latter ſee 14 years. I have here engraved an half groat of his, with an *M* in the center of the croſs on the reverſe, from Plate III. No. 35 of the Supplement to Mr. Folkes's Tables, on the ſuggeſtion, for I had really overlooked it, of Mr. White, a gentleman well verſed in theſe matters, and whom I ought always to mention with reſpect. 'Tis a coin of Henry VII. and the *M* is ſuppoſed, and with reaſon, to be the initial of *Morton*.

P. 45.

P. 45. *Pendragon* was not this prince's proper name, for that was *Uter*.] According to Rapin, I. p. 39, his true name was neither the one nor the other, but both were *agnomina* of king Arthur.

P. 46. Theſe particulars.] Gentlemen, I am ſenſible, are very unwilling to admit that the Saxons coined any gold; but ſurely this coin, in conjunction with the *Wigmund* to be mentioned below amongſt the York coins, amounts to a clear and ſufficient evidence of that fact.

P. 47. We have not a ſingle penny older than *Æthelweard* king of *Weſſex*, who acceded A. 727 or 728.] The like aſſertion occurs elſewhere, grounded on a view and conſideration of the *Saxon* coins hitherto publiſhed, which is all that could be expected from me. But ſince the printing of theſe ſheets, Mr. *White*, a gentleman well ſkilled in theſe matters, has ſuggeſted to me by letter, that Mr. *Lindegreen*, a friend of his, is poſſeſſed of 'a true and perfect *Saxon* coin of *Ethelbert's* (and 'in all probability the firſt of *Kent*) .... the king's head 'greatly reſembles my coin of *Cuthred*, and likewiſe one of '*Offa's* .... the reverſe is like the *Roman* of the lower em-'pire, a wolf and two boys, &c.'



This coin is undoubtedly rare and curious, and, by the favour of Mr. *White*, is here engraved. As to *Ethelbert* I. we have no reaſon to think he coined any money, as has been argued in our Eſſay, to which the Reader is referred. *Ethelbert* II. began to reign alone A. 748, and reigned ten or twelve years, ſo that the piece is moſt likely to be his. The arms of

Offa began to prevail in the *Kentiſh* kingdom ſoon after the death of this *Ethelbert*, and *Cuthred* king of Kent was a meer tributary of the *Mercians*; facts, which may ſeem ſufficiently to account for any ſimilitude between this *Ethelbert's* and *Offa's* or *Cuthred's* money. In regard to the reverſe, a wolf with *Romulus* and *Remus*, this proves nothing in reſpect of either of the *Ethelberts*, as *Roman* coins with that device were no doubt perpetually diſcovered at *Canterbury* in both their reigns, as even they are now; and the moneyer, eſteeming it a pretty fancy, might chuſe to apply it. After all, gentlemen will pleaſe to judge, as they think proper, of the antiquity of the *Saxon* coinage; I have given my opinion, formed upon the preſent ſtate of things, but am willing nevertheleſs to leave the matter open, and to wait for future diſcoveries.

P. 50. Incerta Numiſmata.] Add; with heads.

P. 78. At 22½ grains and leſs.] Mr. White, however, tells me he has ſeveral undoubtedly true coins of Edward the Confeſſor, which weigh from 24 to 25 and 26, and ſome 27 grains. Adding, theſe ſurely muſt have paſſed the weigher by accident or careleſſneſs.

P. 83. It appears to me, from the words of king John, in the ſixth year of his reign, that our archbiſhop was the firſt prelate that regained his right, after the year 1154.] This, however, is an overſight, ſince it does not clearly appear from thence, but from the words of king John in his firſt year given immediately above, where reference is made to an act of Richard I.

P. 83. Mints and exchanges are relatives, wherefore theſe words ſeem clearly to prove, that at that time, the ſixth of John, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was the only prelate that enjoyed his mint; for ſurely if others had been allowed to poſſeſs mints and exchanges, theirs would have been excepted, as well as the archbiſhop's.] The inference here drawn is not juſt, I confeſs, ſince it is plain, from p. 84, that the biſhop of Durham had his privilege renew'd to him by Rich. I. before 6th of John. 'Tis difficult now, however, to imagine a reaſon why the archbiſhop's exchange alone ſhould be excepted. I muſt leave this to the ſagacity of the reader.

P. 85. Cities and abbies.] Add; A precept in Nicholſon's *Hiſt. Libr.* p. 256, likewiſe informs us, that Edw. III. inveſted the monaſtery at Reading with a like privilege.

P. 85. Stephen and John.] Add; Henry III. and Edw. III.

P. 87. Malicious Intention.] Add; it was not my deſign to regiſter in this work all the coins of the archbiſhops of York, or of the biſhops of Durham, whoſe coins, from 2 Hen. III. to the reign of Hen. VIII. are numerous, and indeed are many of them extant in the prelatical ſeries of Mr. White's cabinet. See alſo Folkes's Tables, Plate VI. Plate I. and III. of Supplement, and Mr. Snelling's *View of Silver Coin*, p. 17. One cannot help wiſhing, on the occaſion, that ſome gentleman of experience, who can have recourſe to cabinets, Dr. Gifford or Mr. White, would favour us with an aſſemblage of *all* the prelatical coins, in two or three diſtinct plates.

P. 90. The country mints, it is intimated, did not coin halfpence and farthings after theſe began to be coined, but only pennies.] See alſo p. 32. For this I refer to Pinchbeck, in Battely's *Append. to Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi*, p. 135, where the words are very expreſs, 'Verumptamen quia de obolo, vel 'Ferlinges, loqui non indiget, *quia tantummodo in cambio Lon-'donii componuntur, et non alibi*; tamen de denariis, &c.' But this notwithſtanding, it ſeems to be clear from a precept of Edw. III. in the 12th of his reign, printed in biſhop Nicholſon's *Hiſt. Library*, p. 256, that the abbot of Reading had the privilege of ſtriking halfpence and farthings as well as pennies. The words are, 'Cum .... conceſſerimus ... Abbati et mo-'nachis de Radyng, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores in perpetuum ha-'beant unum monetarium et unum cuneum ... ad monetam 'ibidem, viz. tàm ad obolos et Furlingos, quàm ad Sterlingos, 'prout moris eſt, fabricandam et faciendam, &c.' whence one may fairly collect, that in Edward's reign the ſubordinate mints were impowered to coin theſe ſmall pieces; and that they did it afterwards is plainly ſeen from the halfpenny of archbiſhop Warham, engraved in our plate, and ſee Folkes's Plate VI. No. 26. Indeed, if they were allowed to ſtrike pennies, what reaſon can be aſſigned, why they ſhould be debarred from making leſſer money?

P. 99. TILVVINE ſhould be TILEVIIE, according to the type, and is conſequently an erratum.

Offa began to prevail in the *Kentiſh* kingdom ſoon after the death of this *Ethelbert*, and *Cuthred* king of Kent was a meer tributary of the *Mercians*; facts, which may ſeem ſufficiently to account for any ſimilitude between this *Ethelbert's* and *Offa's* or *Cuthred's* money. In regard to the reverſe, a wolf with *Romulus* and *Remus*, this proves nothing in reſpect of either of the *Ethelberts*, as *Roman* coins with that device were no doubt perpetually diſcovered at *Canterbury* in both their reigns, as even they are now; and the moneyer, eſteeming it a pretty fancy, might chuſe to apply it. After all, gentlemen will pleaſe to judge, as they think proper, of the antiquity of the *Saxon* coinage; I have given my opinion, formed upon the preſent ſtate of things, but am willing nevertheleſs to leave the matter open, and to wait for future diſcoveries.

P. 50. Incerta Numiſmata.] Add; with heads.

P. 78. At 22½ grains and leſs.] Mr. White, however, tells me he has ſeveral undoubtedly true coins of Edward the Confeſſor, which weigh from 24 to 25 and 26, and ſome 27 grains. Adding, theſe ſurely muſt have paſſed the weigher by accident or careleſſneſs.

P. 83. It appears to me, from the words of king John, in the ſixth year of his reign, that our archbiſhop was the firſt prelate that regained his right, after the year 1154.] This, however, is an overſight, ſince it does not clearly appear from thence, but from the words of king John in his firſt year given immediately above, where reference is made to an act of Richard I.

P. 83. Mints and exchanges are relatives, wherefore theſe words ſeem clearly to prove, that at that time, the ſixth of John, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was the only prelate that enjoyed his mint; for ſurely if others had been allowed to poſſeſs mints and exchanges, theirs would have been excepted, as well as the archbiſhop's.] The inference here drawn is not juſt, I confeſs, ſince it is plain, from p. 84, that the biſhop of Durham had his privilege renew'd to him by Rich. I. before 6th of John. 'Tis difficult now, however, to imagine a reaſon why the archbiſhop's exchange alone ſhould be excepted. I muſt leave this to the ſagacity of the reader.

P. 85. Cities and abbies.] Add; A precept in Nicholſon's *Hiſt. Libr.* p. 256, likewiſe informs us, that Edw. III. inveſted the monaſtery at Reading with a like privilege.

P. 85. Stephen and John.] Add; Henry III. and Edw. III.

P. 87. Malicious Intention.] Add; it was not my deſign to regiſter in this work all the coins of the archbiſhops of York, or of the biſhops of Durham, whoſe coins, from 2 Hen. III. to the reign of Hen. VIII. are numerous, and indeed are many of them extant in the prelatical ſeries of Mr. White's cabinet. See alſo Folkes's Tables, Plate VI. Plate I. and III. of Supplement, and Mr. Snelling's *View of Silver Coin*, p. 17. One cannot help wiſhing, on the occaſion, that ſome gentleman of experience, who can have recourſe to cabinets, Dr. Gifford or Mr. White, would favour us with an aſſemblage of *all* the prelatical coins, in two or three diſtinct plates.

P. 90. The country mints, it is intimated, did not coin halfpence and farthings after theſe began to be coined, but only pennies.] See alſo p. 32. For this I refer to Pinchbeck, in Battely's *Append. to Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi*, p. 135, where the words are very expreſs, 'Verumptamen quia de obolo, vel 'Ferlinges, loqui non indiget, *quia tantummodo in cambio Lon-'donii componuntur, et non alibi*; tamen de denariis, &c.' But this notwithſtanding, it ſeems to be clear from a precept of Edw. III. in the 12th of his reign, printed in biſhop Nicholſon's *Hiſt. Library*, p. 256, that the abbot of Reading had the privilege of ſtriking halfpence and farthings as well as pennies. The words are, 'Cum .... conceſſerimus ... Abbati et mo-'nachis de Radyng, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores in perpetuum ha-'beant unum monetarium et unum cuneum ... ad monetam 'ibidem, viz. tàm ad obolos et Furlingos, quàm ad Sterlingos, 'prout moris eſt, fabricandam et faciendam, &c.' whence one may fairly collect, that in Edward's reign the ſubordinate mints were impowered to coin theſe ſmall pieces; and that they did it afterwards is plainly ſeen from the halfpenny of archbiſhop Warham, engraved in our plate, and ſee Folkes's Plate VI. No. 26. Indeed, if they were allowed to ſtrike pennies, what reaſon can be aſſigned, why they ſhould be debarred from making leſſer money?

P. 99. TILVVINE ſhould be TILEVIIE, according to the type, and is conſequently an erratum.

BOOKS ſold by T. SNELLING.

1. A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, with Copper-Plates, in Boards, 12s 6d
2. Ditto of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, 9s
3. ——— Copper Coin and Coinage of England, 10s 6d
4. Miſcellaneous Views of Coins ſtruck by Engliſh Princes in France—Counterfeit Sterlings—Coins ſtruck by the Eaſt-India Company—Thoſe in the Weſt-India Colonies—and in the Iſle of Man: Alſo, of Pattern Pieces of Gold, and Silver Coins, 10s 6d
5. A View of the original Nature and Uſe of Jettons, or Counters, with Copper-Plates, 7s 6d
6. A Supplement to Simons's Hiſtorical Eſſay on Iriſh Coins, with Plates, 3s
7. A View of the Coins at this Time current throughout Europe, in 25 Plates; 4s. in 8vo. 3s. in 12mo.
8. The Doctrine of Gold and Silver Computations; and the Valuation of Gold, Silver, and Parting Aſſays, 8vo. ſewed, 4s
9. Dr. Stukeley's Coins of the ancient Britiſh Kings, in 23 Copper-Plates, 4to. 15s
10. ——— Medallic Hiſt. of Caraufius, compleat, 1l 1s
11. ——— Diſſertation on Oriuna, Wife of Caraufius, 3s
12. Dr. Kennedy's two Diſſertations on Caraufius, and another on him and Allectus, with Plates, 6s
13. ——— Letter to Dr. Stukeley, and Title to his three Tracts, ſeparate, 1s
14. A curious ancient Seal of ſome Religious Foundation of King Athelſtan, 6d
15. Ames's Index to Lord Pembroke's Medals, 2s 6d
16. ——— Catalogue of Engliſh Heads, 8vo. 2s 6d
17. Simons's Hiſtorical Eſſay on Iriſh Coins, 12s

BOOKS ſold by T. SNELLING.

1. A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, with Copper-Plates, in Boards, 12s 6d
2. Ditto of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, 9s
3. ——— Copper Coin and Coinage of England, 10s 6d
4. Miſcellaneous Views of Coins ſtruck by Engliſh Princes in France—Counterfeit Sterlings—Coins ſtruck by the Eaſt-India Company—Thoſe in the Weſt-India Colonies—and in the Iſle of Man: Alſo, of Pattern Pieces of Gold, and Silver Coins, 10s 6d
5. A View of the original Nature and Uſe of Jettons, or Counters, with Copper-Plates, 7s 6d
6. A Supplement to Simons's Hiſtorical Eſſay on Iriſh Coins, with Plates, 3s
7. A View of the Coins at this Time current throughout Europe, in 25 Plates; 4s. in 8vo. 3s. in 12mo.
8. The Doctrine of Gold and Silver Computations; and the Valuation of Gold, Silver, and Parting Aſſays, 8vo. ſewed, 4s
9. Dr. Stukeley's Coins of the ancient Britiſh Kings, in 23 Copper-Plates, 4to. 15s
10. ——— Medallic Hiſt. of Caraufius, compleat, 11 1s
11. ——— Diſſertation on Oriuna, Wife of Caraufius, 3s
12. Dr. Kennedy's two Diſſertations on Caraufius, and another on him and Allectus, with Plates, 6s
13. ——— Letter to Dr. Stukeley, and Title to his three Tracts, ſeparate, 1s
14. A curious ancient Seal of ſome Religious Foundation of King Athelſtan, 6d
15. Ames's Index to Lord Pembroke's Medals, 2s 6d
16. ——— Catalogue of Engliſh Heads, 8vo. 2s 6d
17. Simons's Hiſtorical Eſſay on Iriſh Coins, 12s

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Pegge, Samuel

An Assemblage of Coins fabricated by authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury

London 1772

4 Num.rec. 104 m
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10685419-1